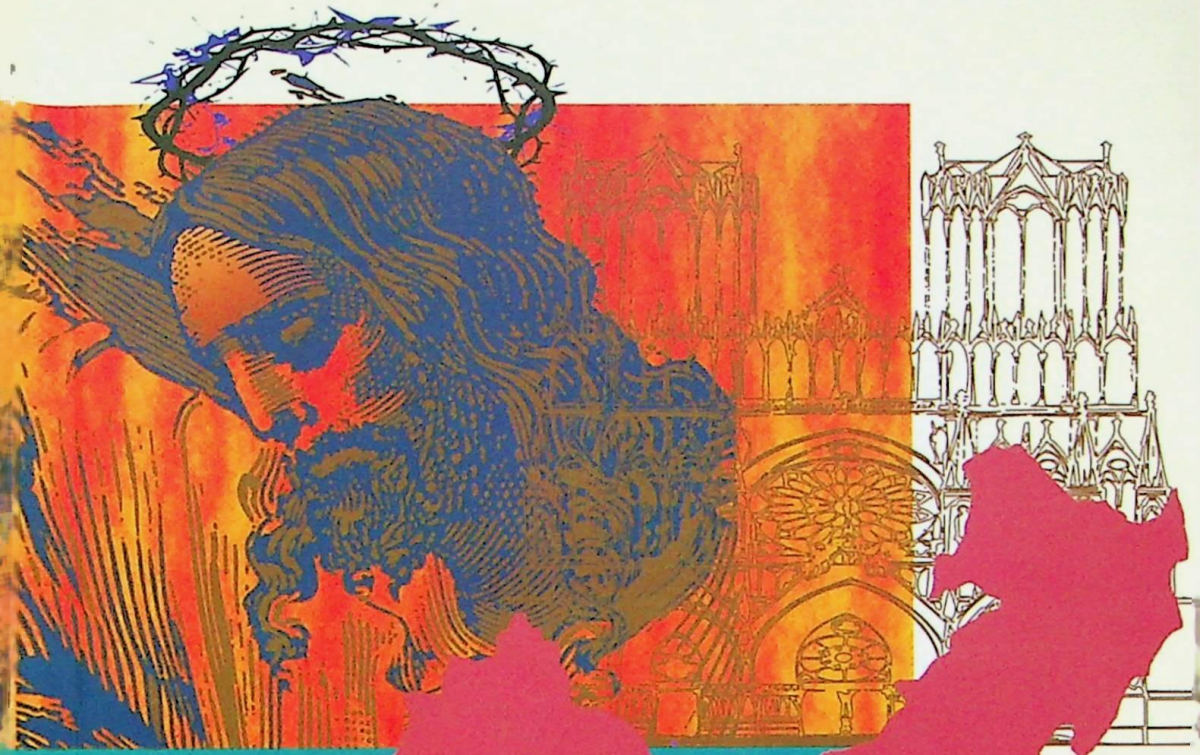


A Brief History of the Chinese LUTHERAN CHURCH

■ ANDREW HSIAO ■

Dedicated

to

all those who have contributed

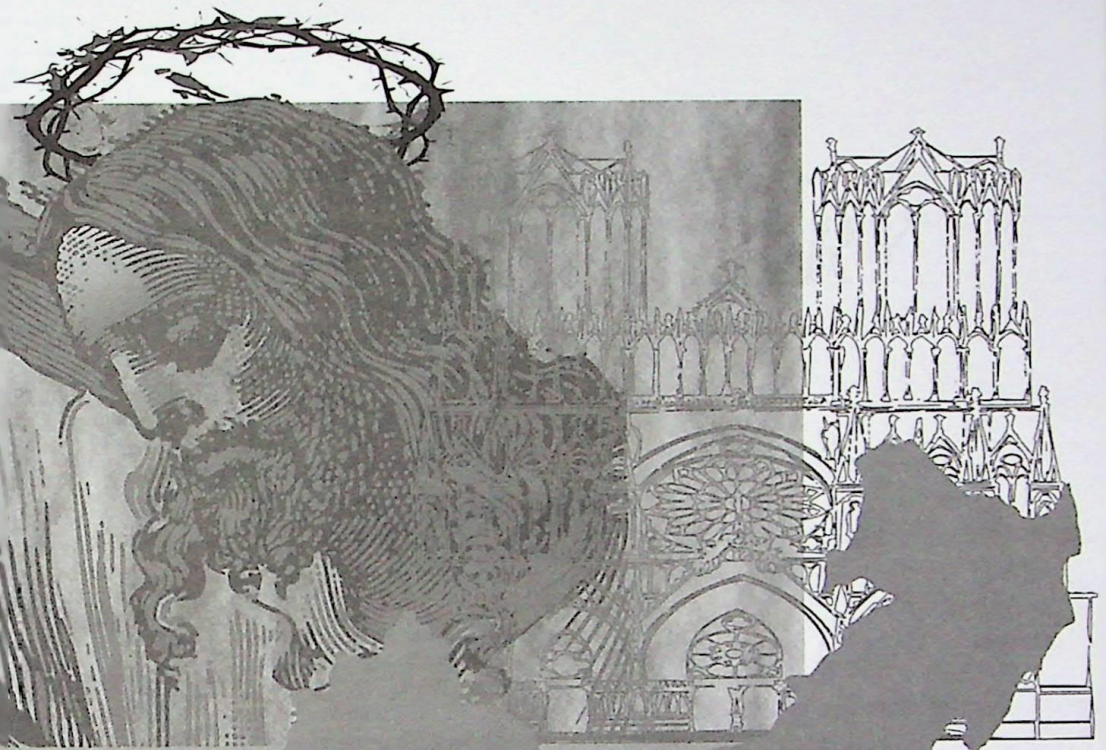
to

the building

of

Chinese Lutheran churches

everywhere.



A Brief History of the Chinese LUTHERAN CHURCH

ANDREW HSIAO

A Brief History of the Chinese Lutheran Church

Andrew Hsiao, PhD

First Edition

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PREFACE

In 1937, when the Lutheran Church of China met in Loyang for the Sixth Assembly, a resolution was made to publish a brief history of the Lutheran Church of China as soon as possible, in both Chinese and English. But due to various reasons, particularly the Sino-Japanese War between 1937-45 and the civil war between the Nationalists and Communists in 1945-49, the resolution had no chance to be carried out.

In 1958, Dr. Gustav Carlberg published his important book, *The Changing China Scene*. Although it gave much information about the Lutheran Church of China, it was basically a book on the history of the Lutheran Theological Seminary between 1913-58. And as the book was written in English, not many Chinese people, especially Chinese Lutherans, were able to benefit from it.

The Executive Committee of the Lutheran Church of China-Hong Kong Association (now the Hong Kong Lutheran Federation) met on April 25, 1989 to discuss the urgent need of a brief history of all the Chinese Lutheran churches' past and present, in China mainland prior to the Revolution as well as outside the mainland today. The committee's main concern, however, was the Lutheran churches in Hong Kong, and they asked this writer to take up the task.

I began collecting materials on this subject as early as 1989, when I teamed with Drs. Paul Hu and Kirsti Kena to teach a course in the Lutheran Theological Seminary named The Lutheran Church — Past and Present. Unfortunately, I never had the time to sort out the many hundred pages of data I had collected, much less put them down in book form, until after I had retired as LTS President in 1994. As a result, my book *Understanding the Lutheran Church* was published, but not until July, 1997.

The book, dedicated to the 9th Assembly of LWF, which was held in Hong Kong on July 8-16, 1997, right after its hand-over to China , was written in part to prepare Chinese Lutherans to be better hosts for that historical event. And it had a much wider scope than the 1937 resolution and the 1989 plan intended, introducing as it did the beginning, the development, the basic doctrine and characteristics of the Lutheran church as a whole. It's emphasis, however, was on the history of all the Chinese Lutheran churches, as well as their relationships with LWF. In the long run, it is hoped that this book can be used as a reference for membership training in Chinese Lutheran churches.

In response to a request from my friend, Dr. Viggo Mortensen, Director of Study Department of LWF, to share with the English speaking people the past and the present of the many small Chinese speaking churches, I have rendered part of my book into English. Hence this collection, *A Brief History of the Chinese Lutheran Churches*, a short account of the history of most, if not all, of the Chinese speaking Lutheran churches.

The First Chapter introduces the background and the formation of the Lutheran Church of China, as well as each of her 16 synods. The Second Chapter deals with the 16 Chinese speaking Lutheran churches in Chinese communities outside of China mainland, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. Other Chinese speaking Lutheran congregations, such as those in North America, Europe and Australia, are also briefly mentioned here. The Third Chapter discusses the close relationships between the Chinese Lutheran churches and the LWF - not only what the LWF did for Chinese churches, but also what Chinese churches did for the LWF.

Although I had no intention of writing a scholarly document, I have included extensive footnotes and bibliography (including Chinese bibliography) to help those who wish to make further studies on this subject. Since there is no index attached to this book, I have provided a more detailed Content.

In writing this book, I encountered more problems than I had anticipated. The choice of the best English spelling of Chinese names was one of them. To be consistent, I have adopted Hanyu Pinyin, the standard spelling system in China today, for the names of persons and places. Therefore, I use Beijing and Guangzhou instead of Peking and Canton. However, in order to reduce confusion, I have kept the old spelling for some of the well known names in the Chinese Lutheran churches, such as Wu Ming-Chieh, Sit Poon-Kit, Stanley Tung and Andrew Hsiao (rather than Wu Ming-Jie, Xie Pang-Ji, Stanley Dong and Andrew Xiao respectively). And when the Chinese name of a church is read very differently in Mandarin as compared to Cantonese, different spellings are used accordingly. For example, the church founded by the Basel Mission was called Chongzhen Church in China according to Mandarin, but Tsung Tsin Mission or Tsung Tsin Church in Hong Kong accordingly to Cantonese.

I am grateful to a number of libraries in various countries in Asia, Europe and North America for generously opening their archives to me. Special acknowledgment should be made to the libraries of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong, Luther Seminary in St. Paul, and Yale Divinity School in New Haven, from which I collected most of the materials for this book. I am also indebted to the many churches, missions and individuals who helped in one way or another to make this book possible. I also feel specially proud of and grateful to my son David Xiao for reading and editing the manuscript.

Finally, I want to give thanks to the LWF for providing editorial assistance as well as taking up the printing costs.

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President Emeritus, Lutheran Theological Seminary
Tao Fong Shan, Shatin, Hong Kong
August, 1999

CONTENT

PREFACE

CHAPTER 1
LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN MAINLAND CHINA

I. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

A. The Individual-Missions Period (1847-1907) 2
1. The First Lutheran Missionary to China 2
2. The First Lutheran Mission Societies in China 4
3. Other Early Lutheran Mission Societies in China 5

B. The Moving-Towards-Union Period (1907-1920) 7
1. The Proposal for A Union 9
2. The First Fruit of the Union 10
3. The Realisation of the Union 11

C. The Lutheran Church Of China Period (1920-1950) **12**
1. The First Assembly (Jigungshan, August 22-29, 1920) 13
2. The Second Assembly (Taohualun, March 30-April 2, 1924) 14
3. The Third Assembly (Lutheran Theological Seminary, Shekou, May 25-June 3, 1928) 16
4. The Fourth Assembly (Qindao, June 21-28, 1931) 17
5. The Fifth Assembly (Shanghai, June 10-15, 1934) 18
6. The Sixth Assembly (Loyan, June 13-18, 1937) 19
7. The Seventh Assembly (LTS, Shekou, October 21-25, 1946) 21
8. The Eight Assembly (Tao Fong Shan, November 4-5, 1949) The 27th Council Meeting of LLC 24

9. 'The Lutheran Church in China'(Hankou, January 25, 1951)An emergency LCC Council Meeting which founded the new TLCC 26

II. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

—The beginning and development of each of the 16 LCC Synods and their related missions are introduced according to the order of their arrival in China..

A. The Southeran China Area 28
1. Chongzhen Synod (Basel Mission) 28
2. Lixiang Synod (Rhenish Mission) 33
3. Yuegang Synod (Berlin Missionary Society for China; Berlin Missionary Society) 36
4. Yuenan Synod (Keiler China Mission; Breklum Mission) 38
5. Daoyou Synod (Christian Mission to Buddhists) 39

B. The Central China Area 43
1. Yu-e Synod (American Lutheran Mission; Hauge Synod Mission) 44
2. Yu-eshang Synod (Norwegian Lutheran Mission) 47
3. Yuxi Synod (American Lutheran Brethren Mission) ... 49
4. Xiangxi Synod (Finnish Missionary Society) 51
5. Xiangzhong Synod (Norwegian Missionary Society) 54
6. Yuzhong Synod (Augustana Synod Mission) 57
7. Yudong Synod (Lutheran Board of Missions of Lutheran Free Church) 60
8. Shaannan Synod (Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission) 62
9. Xiangbei Synod (Church of Sweden Mission) 64

C. The Northeran China Area 66
1. Dongbei Synod (Danish Mission Society) 67
2. Ludong Synod (Berlin Missionary Society; American Lutheran Mission) 69

III. CONCLUDING REMARKDS

CHAPTER 2
THE CHINESE LUTHERAN CHURCHES OUTSIDE MAINLAND CHINA

—The beginning and development of each of the 16 Chinese Lutheran churches outside mainland China, including the church structure, evangelism outreach, education programs, social services, theological education, literature work and church cooperation, are briefly introduced.

I. HONG KONG

A. Tsung Tsin Mission, Hong Kong (TTM) 80
B. The Chinese Rhenish Church, Hong Kong Synod (CRC) 83
C. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong (ELCHK) 87
D. Hong Kong-Macau Lutheran Church (HKMLC) 96
E. The Lutheran Church-Hong Kong Synod (LCHKS) 101
F. South Asian Lutheran Evangelical Mission (SALEM) 107
G. The South Guangdong Lutheran Church (SGLC or the Lutheran Philip House Church) 109
H. Christian Mission to Buddhists (CMB) 110

II. TAIWAN

A. Taiwan Lutheran Church (TLC) 114
B. The Lutheran Church of Republic of China (LCROC) 119
C. The Chinese Lutheran Brethren Church (CLBC) 122
D. The China Evangelical Lutheran Church (CELC) 125
E. The China Lutheran Gospel Church (CLGC) 129
F. The Lutheran Church of Taiwan (LCT) 131

III. MALAYSIA - SINGAPORE

A. The Basel Christian Church of Malaysia (BCCM) 135
B. The Lutheran Church in Malaysia and Singapore (LCMS) 141

IV. THE WESTERN WORLD

—The 50 and more Chinese Lutheran congregations in North America and other western countries are briefly introduced.

A. North America 145
B. England 147
C. France 147
D. Germany 148
E. Australia 148
F. Other Countries 148

CHAPTER 3
CHINESE LUTHERAN CHURCHES AND THE LWF

I. THE LWF IN THE CHINESE LUTHERAN CHURCHES

A. Aid for the 'Orphaned Missions' (1940-50) 151
B. Relief to Refugees in Hong Kong (1950-75) 156
C. Supporting Leadership Training Outside Mainland China (1975—) 159

II. THE CHINESE LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN THE LWF

A. Attending LWF Assemblies 161
B. Participating in LWF Activities 166
C. Serving the LWF in Various Capacities 167
D. Sharing in the LWF Budget 168
E. Hosting the LWF Assembly 169

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIXES

I. SYNODS AND MISSIONS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF CHINA
II. LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN HONG KONG
III. LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN TAIWAN

CHAPTER

1

Lutheran Churches in Mainland China

The Lutheran church was present in mainland China for more than a hundred years, and was one of the main Protestant denominations there. According to a report of 1951, the Chinese Lutheran Church had a membership of 103,054, or more than 10 per cent of the Protestant population in China at that time.

The history of the Lutheran Church in China can be studied through two different approaches: historical and geographical. The historical approach lets us chronicle what the church experienced from roughly the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. The geographical approach describes the beginnings and the development of each of the Lutheran missions and churches according to their geographical distribution.

I. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The development of the Lutheran churches in China can be roughly divided into three periods: the individual-missions period, the moving-towards-union period, and the Lutheran-Church-of-China period.

A. THE INDIVIDUAL-MISSIONS PERIOD (1847-1907)

Like most early churches in China, the early Chinese Lutheran churches were the fruits of the labour of western mission societies. In the sixty years between 1847 and 1907, no less than twenty European and American Lutheran mission bodies worked in China.[1] Some of them joined the China Inland Mission, or from the very beginning cooperated with other mission societies and therefore did not found their own churches. Others did found their own churches but did not call themselves Lutherans. Still other mission bodies, while keeping their Lutheran identity, had little or no contact with other Lutheran groups. This was a period when Lutheran mission bodies worked independently of each other.

1. The First Lutheran Missionary to China

Karl F. Gützlaff (1803-1851) is regarded by all as the first Lutheran missionary to China. He was born in Germany, studied at Berlin Mission College, and served as a pastor in a Lutheran church in Berlin. Gützlaff had been interested in China mission since childhood. However, since no Lutheran mission society was working in China in the early 19th century, Gützlaff joined the Dutch Missionary Society (DMS) and was sent to the Orient in 1823. But Gützlaff resigned from the DMS shortly after his arrival in Java, Indonesia, in 1827. He tried hard to get into China which was observing a strict closed-door policy at that time. Between 1831 and 1835 he made several mission trips along the coasts of China and Thailand. It was in 1831 that he first set foot on Chinese soil in Tianjin, where he was able to distribute some religious pamphlets and gospel tracts.[2]

[1] According to D. MacGillivray, *A Century of Protestant Mission in China (1807-1907)* (Shanghai: The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907), no less than 25 Lutheran mission bodies attended the Centenary Conference. Four of them came from USA, eight from Germany, one from Denmark, two from Finland, three from Norway, five from Sweden and two from united Scandinavian organisations.

[2] *bid.*, p. 22.

Because of the peculiar diplomatic situation at that time, Gützlaff had to carry out his mission task while simultaneously working as interpreter, first for a British business company and later for the British government. In 1843, Gützlaff was appointed secretary for Chinese Affairs by the Hong Kong government. He died of illness in 1851 at the age of 48.[3]

Although Gützlaff's service among the Chinese barely spanned twenty years and some of his mission methods were very controversial, his contributions to the Chinese church, and particularly to the Chinese Lutheran Church, should not be underestimated.

Gützlaff's contributions came mainly in three areas. First, he greatly stressed the principle of self-propagation, saying 'Only the Chinese can change the faith of the Chinese.'[4] Gützlaff believed that only the Chinese people could effectively spread the gospel in China. Thus, in 1844, he established the so-called 'China Union' (*Fu Han Hui*, 'Blessing Chinese Society'). Its purpose was to train large numbers of Chinese evangelists to proclaim the gospel in every province in China. Unfortunately, as most of these students had complicated backgrounds, and because leaders who could competently share the responsibilities of teaching and guiding them were few, this unprecedented and ambitious leadership training programme soon fell apart. Self-propagation, which Gützlaff had emphasised so much, was to become the basic working principle for all churches and mission societies.

Gützlaff's second contribution was in the area of Christian literature. Gützlaff was an unusually gifted linguist. Not only

3 For a more detailed study on the life and work of Gützlaff, cf. Scott Shao-chi Pan, 'An Appraisal of Karl Gützlaff and His Mission: The First Lutheran Missionary to East-Asian Countries and China.' M.Th. thesis in Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, 1986.

4 *The China Mission Handbook*, first issue (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1896), p. 272, 'Rhenish Mission'.

could he write Chinese, he could also speak several Chinese dialects. In those twenty years, he produced no less than sixty-one Chinese books.[5] His translation of the Bible was later accepted by Hong Xiuquan, the leader of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864) during the Taiping Revolution, as the Imperial Translation of the Bible. The Lutheran Theological Seminary library in Hong Kong has photocopies of most of Gützlaff's books.

But Gützlaff's greatest contribution lay in his promotion of China mission. Responding to his enthusiastic appeal, the Barmen Missionary Society, Basel Missionary Society and Berlin Missionary Society all came to China during Gützlaff's lifetime. And inspired by him, Hudson Taylor (1823-1905), founder of the Inland China Mission, the largest mission group in China, not only arrived in China shortly after Gützlaff's death, but also adopted a number of Gützlaff's methods and strategies in his mission programme. It is no wonder that Taylor, the most highly respected 'Father of the China Inland Mission', humbly referred to Gützlaff as the 'Grandfather of the China Inland Mission'.[6]

Gützlaff died in Hong Kong on 9 August 1851 and was buried in the Happy Valley Cemetery. His tombstone reads, simply, 'Apostle to the Chinese'. A street in Hong Kong was named after him.

2. The First Lutheran Mission Societies in China

Through Gützlaff's appeal and encouragement three German mission societies sent missionaries to China. They were Barmen

[5] According to Alexander Wylie, *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries in China*, 1867, of Gützlaff's writings there were 61 in Chinese, two in Japanese, one in Thai, two in Dutch, seven in German and nine in English.

[6] Gustav Carlberg, *The Changing China Scene. The Story of the LutheranTheological Seminary in Its Church and Political Setting over a Period of Forty-five Years, 1913-1958*, Hong Kong: s.n., 1959?, p. 134.

Mission, Berlin Mission, and Basel Mission with headquarters in Basel, Switzerland. They were later known in China as 'The Three Bs'.[7]

In 1847, the Basel Mission sent Theodore Hamburg, a Swede, and Rudolph Lechler, a German, to China. They were accompanied by two other German missionaries, Heinrich Köster and Ferdinand Genähr, both from the Barmen Mission. All four young men arrived in Hong Kong on the same ship on 19 March 1847, and under Gützlaff's guidance immediately began working in different areas in Guangdong province. The Basel missionaries went eastward and worked among the Hakka-speaking people, while the Barmen missionaries went west and laboured among the Cantonese speakers.[8] The churches they founded were called Chongzhen Church (or Tsung Tsin Mission) and Lixiang Church (or Rhenish Church) respectively.

The Berlin Mission sent its first missionary to China in 1851. During those early years, the Berlin Mission confined its work to the Hakka-speaking people in Guangdong province, but later extended it to the Mandarin-speaking people in Jiangxi province, and finally even to Shandong province in northern China. The church it founded was called Yuegang Lutheran Church.

3. Other Early Lutheran Mission Societies in China

Between 1890 and 1907, a number of American and Scandinavian Lutheran mission societies came to China. The following nine societies should specially be mentioned.

In 1890, the arrival of the American Lutheran Mission in Henan and Hubei provinces marked the beginning of the North American Lutheran missions in China. This mission later founded the Yu-e Lutheran Church.

7 Christopher Tang, *Chinese Church Centennial History* (in Chinese) (Hong Kong: Taosheng Publishing House, 1987), p. 276.

8 MacGillivray, p. 492.

One year later, in 1891, the Hauge Synod Mission started work in Hubei province. This Mission eventually merged with the American Lutheran Mission.

Also in 1891, the Norwegian Lutheran China Mission Association came to China. They first worked in Hubei, and then in Henan and Shaanxi provinces as well. The church they established was later called Yu-eshaan Lutheran Church. This mission association, later known as the Norwegian Lutheran Mission, was the first Norwegian mission body to work in China.

As early as 1890, the Danish Lutheran Mission sent a team to China for a feasibility study, but did not start working there until 1896. The area the Danish missionaries chose for their work was in Manchuria, in northeastern China, and the church they built was called Northeastern Lutheran Church.

The Kieler China Mission (KCM) in Germany sent missionaries to China already in 1897. Three years later, it began work in Beihai, in the south of Guangdong province, but its growth was very slow. In 1920, the KCM decided to discontinue its work and hand over everything to another German mission, namely the Schleswig-Holstein Mission or Breklum Mission.[9] The church this mission established was known as Yuenan Lutheran Church.

In 1902, the American Lutheran Brethren Mission began working in the border areas of Henan and Hubei provinces. The church they founded was first called Yu-e Frontier Lutheran Church and later Yuxi Lutheran Church.

In 1898 the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) planned to start working in China's northeastern part as well as in Outer Mongolia. But the grim political situation there at that time prevented them from carrying out their plans. Three years later,

[9] 'Proceedings of the Second General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1924, p. 51.

the FMS was able to send missionaries to the west of Hunan province, where they established Xiangxi Lutheran Church.

In early 1847, the Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS) sent people to Hong Kong to study the possibility of launching a China mission programme. But half a year later, the NMS decided to postpone that plan in order to concentrate on its work in Africa. It was not until 1902 that the NMS decided to open a mission in the central part of Hunan province, where it built Xiangzhong Lutheran Church.

In 1905, the Augustana Synod Mission in the United States came to the central part of Henan province and later established Yuzhong Lutheran Church.

Of the nine Lutheran mission societies mentioned above, four came from the United States, four from Scandinavia and one from Germany. It is interesting to note that all four American mission societies had been established and supported by descendants of Norwegian and Swedish immigrants. This was one of the reasons why, as a whole, the Chinese Lutheran churches were very much Scandinavian in both their theology and liturgy.

A more detailed account of each of these missions and churches will be given when the beginning and development of the various synods of the Lutheran Church of China are discussed.

B. THE MOVING-TOWARDS-UNION PERIOD (1907-1920)

The historical China Centenary Missionary Conference was held in Shanghai from 25 April to 8 May 1907, during the hundredth-anniversary commemoration of the arrival of Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China. Of the 1,170 participants, 500 were missionaries and 670 were guests and visitors.[10]

[10] Records, China Centenary Missionary Conference,1907,p.v.

According to the Index of Missions, released by the conference, twenty-five mission bodies in China at that time were of Lutheran background.[11] Although basically they embraced the same faith, up to then they had not been able to work together, because they were unable to overcome their many 'differences', such as coming from different countries, representing different churches, having arrived in China at different times, working in different provinces and among people of different dialects, etc. But inspired and challenged by the Centenary Conference, as well as affected by the tragic and violent anti-Christian episodes during the Yihetuan Movement — the so-called Boxer Rebellion in 1900[12] — the Lutheran missionaries began to realise that they would have to unite if they were effectively to bring the gospel to a land that then held one quarter of the world's population.

During this period, several Lutheran mission societies who would later be involved in the national-unity movement arrived. Their presence added an extra sense of urgency to the need for a nationwide Lutheran union.

In 1913, the missionary society of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in the USA began working in Hubei province. The church they built was later called Fuyingdao Ludehui, which literally meant the Gospel Word Church of Luther.

In 1916, the Lutheran Free Church in the USA sent missionaries to the east of Henan province, where they founded the Yudong Lutheran Church.

Also in 1916, the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church came to the south of Shaanxi province, where they later established the Shaannan Lutheran Church.

[11] MacGillivray, pp. v-vii.

[12] Cf. Sammuel Jackson, ed. *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. III, p. 35, under 'China'. An anti-foreign and anti-Christian crusade in 1899-1900 resulting in the death of many thousands of Chinese Christians, as well as of 135 Protestant missionaries and 55 children, 35 Roman Catholic fathers and nine sisters.

In 1918, missionaries of the Church of Sweden started mission work in the north of Hunan province and built the Xiangbei Lutheran Church.

At the end of this period, Professor Karl L. Reichelt of Norway began his work among the Buddhists. In 1922, he founded the Christian Mission to Buddhists, and established the so-called Daoyou (Friends of the Word) Church.

The last Lutheran missionary society to come to China was the one of the United Lutheran Church in America. In 1925, this mission society took over the work started in 1898 by the Berlin Mission in Shandong province. The church that the ULCA Mission established was called Ludong Lutheran Church.

1. The Proposal for Union

In 1906, eight Lutheran missionaries, led by J. A. O. Gotterberg of the Norwegian Missionary Society, jointly sent a letter to all Lutheran mission bodies in China inviting them to a Lutheran missionary consultation to be held in Shanghai in 1907, during the China Centenary Missionary Conference. The consultation was to be centred on Lutheran unity, and the invitation letter made two concrete proposals towards this aim: First, that all Lutheran churches and organisations in China should adopt the name Xinyi, or Faith Righteousness, to emphasise Luther's doctrine of justification by faith. Second, the Lutheran union should begin with programmes in the field of literature and education.

In May 1907, ten Lutheran mission bodies accepted the invitation and attended the Lutheran consultation. Seven, from the USA and Northern Europe, were working in central China, the other three, from Germany, in the south.[13] An overwhelming enthusiasm and interest for Lutheran unity was shown by all

[13] Carlberg, p. 16.

delegates, but doubts and concerns were voiced by both the central and the southern groups about the many practical problems and difficulties in the way. For example, the needs of the three already well-established German missions that had been working in the south for about sixty years were not the same as those of the seven societies which had barely started pioneer work in the central part of China. And the fact that the dialect used in the south was mainly Cantonese, while in central China it was primarily Mandarin, plus the fact that China was one of the largest countries in the world with one of the poorest public transport systems made the quest for national unity difficult if not impossible.

It was finally agreed that the proposed union should begin with the mission bodies in central China, while those in the south could join at a later date. One of the concrete results of the consultation was the organisation of the Union Lutheran Conference (ULC). Its members, who were to follow up on and carry out the proposals for unity that had been discussed, were recruited among the five missions working in central China.

The First Fruit of the Union

The Union Lutheran Conference held its first meeting 28-30 August 1908 on Jigongshan, or Cock Hill. During this and several succeeding meetings, conference members drafted a number of concrete plans, namely of publishing books, compiling hymns, designing worship liturgies, establishing schools, building an office-residence centre and forming a national Lutheran church. But the most important and most urgent plan was to establish a joint seminary. The conference was convinced that none of its plans could be realised without well-trained indigenous leaders. Therefore, the conference gave the highest priority to building a union Lutheran seminary.

On 29 March 1913, the Lutheran Theological Seminary (LTS), or Xinyi Shenxueyuan (Faith Righteousness Theological Seminary) opened in Shekou, a small village about 15 kilometres north of the city of Wuhan in Hubei province. This seminary

was the predecessor of today's Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong. The seminary in Shekou was sponsored by four mission societies: the American Lutheran Mission, the Hauge Synod Mission, the Norwegian Missionary Society and the Finnish Missionary Society. Oscar R. Wold of the Hauge Synod Mission was elected its first president, and the new campus was dedicated on 19 October the same year. On that day, several hundred Chinese and Western Christians came together to offer their heartfelt thanks to God for the first fruit of Lutheran unity in China.[14]

The Lutheran Theological Seminary not only served as leadership training centre but also as publishing house. On 15 September 1913, the seminary faculty decided to publish a paper called *Xinyi Bao*, or Faith Righteousness Paper, or *Lutheran Bulletin*, and appointed Professor Reichelt as editor. The publication of *Xinyi Bao* not only provided Lutherans all over China with regular reading materials with both an informational and spiritual content, but also opened the door to many joint Lutheran literature programmes. Both the Lutheran Board of Publication, or Xinyi Shubaobu (Faith Righteousness Publication Board), founded in 1924, and the Daosheng Publishing Houses in Hong Kong and Taiwan today regard the publication of the first issue of *Xinyi Bao* on 19 October 1913 as the beginning of their work. As a matter of fact, in the following years, the writings and translations of the LTS faculty became the major source of Lutheran theological literature in China.[15]

3. The Realisation of the Union

If we say that the foundation of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in 1913 was the first fruit of Lutheran unity in China,

[14] For more information about the LTS, cf. Carlberg, *The Changing China Scene*, as well as Andrew Hsiao, 'A Chronological History of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1913-93' , *Theology and Life* (1993), pp. 3-17.

[15] Cf. Andrew Hsiao, 'The Development of Chinese Lutheran Literature' (in Chinese), *Theology and Life*, vol. 11 (1988), pp. 12-23.

then we can call the formation of the Lutheran Church of China in 1920 the crown of this unity movement.

In 1908, when the Union Lutheran Conference (ULC) met for the first time, Gotteberg of the Norwegian Missionary Society said, 'Our purpose in this country must be the building of *one* Lutheran church, not many Lutheran churches.'[16] His statement was enthusiastically supported by all members present. In the first issue of *Xinyi Bao*, published on the day the LTS campus was dedicated, one writer said: 'We can predict that in the not-too-distant future *one* Chinese Lutheran church will appear in central China.'[17] In 1915, the Temporary Committee of the Lutheran Church of China, which had been organised by the ULC, took up the responsibility of preparing for just such a national church.

During the second ULC meeting, in 1917, when the churches ere celebrating the 400th anniversary of the Reformation, all eparations, including the draft of the constitution, were alised,[18] and a united church with the name of Lutheran Church of China, or Zhonghua Xinyihui (China Faith Righteousness Church), was born in August 1920.

C. THE LUTHERAN-CHURCH-OF-CHINA PERIOD (1920-1950)

From its formation to its dissolution, the Lutheran Church of China existed for only about thirty years. But its contribution to the development of Christianity in China, and particularly to the unity of the Chinese Lutheran churches, should not be underestimated. And we can easily see its development from the proceedings of the assemblies which were held once every three years according to its constitution.

[16] Carlberg, p. 48.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Cf. *Proceedings of the Union Lutheran Conference*, Kikunshan, August 23-27, 1917.

1. The First Assembly

The Lutheran Church of China (LCC) was officially established 22-29 August 1920 on Jigungshan (Kikunshan) hill in Henan province, and its First Assembly convened there immediately. One of the first items on the agenda was the approval of the constitution spelling out a four-level structure for the church: National, synod, district and congregation.[19]

Church:	National	synod	district	congregation
Assembly:	Every three years	annual	annual	annual
Council:	Nat'l Council	Synod Council	District Council	Deacons Board

Five mission bodies took part in the founding of the LCC. Thus the churches which these mission bodies had established became the LCC's first five synods. They were:

Yuzhong Synod (Augustana Synod Mission)
Yu-e Synod (United Lutheran Mission, a joint mission organisation of the American Lutheran Mission and the Hauge Synod Mission after they had merged in 1917)
Xiangzhong Synod (Norwegian Missionary Society)
Xiangxi Synod (Finnish Missionary Society)
Xiangbei Synod (Church of Sweden Mission)

All synods were named after the places where they worked. Yuzhong means central Henan, Yu-e means Henan and Hubei, Xiangzhong refers to central Hunan, Xiangxi to western Hunan and Xiangbei to northern Hunan.

A survey taken at the time showed that the five synods and their related mission bodies had 221 missionaries (including spouses), 909 Chinese coworkers, 20,032 members (including

[19] Cf. *The Constitution of the Lutheran Church of China; including constitutions of the synod, district and congregation* (in Chinese) (Second printing, Hankow: Lutheran Board of Publication, 1933).

6,405 communicants), 249 schools and 7,355 students.[20]

O.R. Wold (Yu-e), president of the LTS, was elected first president of the LCC, with Liang Jiasi (Xiangzhong) and Zhu Haorang (Yu-e) as vice-presidents.

A number of important resolutions were adopted during this assembly, namely that of revising the hymnal, publishing a score of the new hymnal, introducing a 'three-year pericope', designing liturgies for various occasions, standardising the vestments, adopting standard religious terminology, creating Bible schools for men and women, publishing books and accepting *Xinyi Bao* (Lutheran Bulletin) as the organ of the LCC. But the resolution which received special attention was the approval of an offer from the Church of Sweden Mission to establish a Lutheran college to serve all Lutheran churches in China.

During his first annual report to the Third Council Meeting, 25-26 November 1921, President Wold announced that the first year of the LCC had been a good one. In response, the council resolved to request that all LCC synods, as well as all other churches in China, use the Chinese Mid-Autumn Festival — which, according to the lunar calendar falls on the 15th day of the eighth month — as a Day of Thanksgiving.[21]

2. The Second Assembly

The Second Assembly, originally scheduled to begin on 17 October 1923 in Taohualun, Hunan, was postponed to take place from 30 March to 2 April 1924 because of the political turbulence in Hunan at that time. Taohualun was the working base for both the Norwegian Missionary Society and Xiangzhong Synod. Besides having a large church in Taohualun, they had also

[20] Proceedings of the First General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1920, p. 55.

[21] Proceedings of the Church Council of the Lutheran Church of China', 1921. p. 42.

established a middle school, a primary school, a Bible school for men, a school for Norwegian children, a school for the blind, a hospital and an orphanage. Lutheran College, promised by the Church of Sweden at the First Assembly, was also located there.

The Lutheran College had opened on 19 September 1923, and was dedicated on the opening day of the Second Assembly. Lutheran churches from various parts of the world, whether related to the Lutheran Church of China or not, had high expectations for this new institute of higher education. Unfortunately, Lutheran College existed for only eight years and had to be closed in 1931. The ceaseless political unrest in Hunan and the college's out-of-the-way location made it unattractive for students. Some of the reasons why this college, the only Lutheran higher education institute in China, could not continue were that the Board of Directors refused to comply with the Chinese government's demand that the college be registered and that the school's religious courses become optional instead of required, and that the Swedish people were rapidly losing interest in furthering educational institutions abroad.

Two new synods —Yudong (eastern Henan) and Yuenan (southern Guangdong) — were added to the LCC during the Second Assembly, increasing its members to seven. Arstrup Larsen (Yu-e) was elected president, and Liang Jiasi (Xiangzhong) and Zhu Haorang (Yu-e) were eleceted vice-presidents.[22]

One of the important resolutions made during this assembly was the approval of the new constitution of Xinyi Shubaobu or Lutheran Board of Publication (LBP). This constitution changed the status of the LBP from a mission agency to an integrated part of the LCC. From then on the LCC took over the responsibility for the work, finances and personnel of the LBP. This was the first step towards indigenization in the joint Chinese Lutheran literature work.

[22] 'Proceedings of the Second General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1924, p. 14.

The Union Lutheran Conference proposed to erect a building that would house offices and serve as guesthouse. On 31 October 1924, seven months after the closing of the Second Assembly, a concrete and steel building, the Lutheran Missions Home and Agency, was dedicated in Hankou. This six-storey modern building, which cost the seven participating mission bodies US$110,000, not only provided lodging for travelling missionaries but also office rooms for the LBP and other joint Lutheran agencies.[23]

3. The Third Assembly

Due to political unrest in China, the Third Assembly, scheduled for the fall of 1926, did not take place until 25 May to 3 June 1928. The venue of the meeting had to be changed, too, from Xuchang, Henan, as originally proposed, to the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Shekou.

The assembly received many sad reports from the various synods and committees about what had happened over the past few years. The evangelistic, educational, pastoral and social service programmes in almost all the Lutheran churches had been greatly hampered by the increase of political turbulence, the spread of anti-Christian movements, and the numerous natural and human disasters befalling China. Nevertheless, all those who attended the assembly were still optimistic and full of hope for the future.

The following resolutions were made during this assembly: the adoption of the revised Lutheran Book of Worship and Liturgy, changing the title of the synod head from Zongmoshi (general pastor) to Jiangdu (president), and that of the LCC head from Jiangdu (president) to Zongjiangdu (general president or national president).[24]

[23] Carlberg, p. 55.

[24] 'Proceedings of the Third General Assembly, the Lutheran Church of China', 1928, p. 16.

But the most joyful event of this assembly was the addition of three new synods: Yuegang (Guangdong and Jiangxi; Berlin Mission), Ludong (eastern Shangdong; United Lutheran Church of America) and Dongbei (northeastern; Danish Mission Society). Thus, the LCC now consisted of ten synods, 335 congregations, 260 evangelism centres; 39,195 members (including 23,704 communicants); 357 schools of various levels; nine social service agencies; 13 hospitals, 19 clinics; 279 missionaries (including 89 ordained ministers), and 949 Chinese coworkers (including 45 ordained pastors).[25]

The new leadership elected by the assembly included Wold (Yu-e) as national president, and Zu Qiwu (Xiangzhong) and Yan Xingji (Dongbei) as the national vice-presidents. After Wold died of cancer in October 1928, Zu succeeded him as national president.

4. The Fourth Assembly

The Fourth Assembly was held in Qindao in Shandong province, 21-28 June 1931. The assembly elected Zhu Haorang (Yu-e) national president, Ai Nianshang (Yuzhong) and P.P.Anspach (Ludong) national vice-presidents. Zhu, a graduate of the first class of LTS, was the first Chinese to be elected to this office. Since then, all the national presidents of the LCC were Chinese as well as LTS graduates.

This assembly passed resolutions on the following subjects: [26]

* Restructuring of the National Council: The National Council should consist of two representatives from each synod in addition to the five members elected directly from the Council. The two synod representatives must include the synod president and one person elected by the Synod Council. Of the two representatives one must be Chinese and one non-Chinese.

[25] *Ibid.*, cf. LCC Statistics.

[26] Cf. 'Minutes of the Fourth Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1931, pp. 7-26.

* Full-time position for the national president: Although the last assembly had already decided that the national president's ought to be a full-time position, the decision had never been carried out due to financial and other practical difficulties. This assembly suggested that until a full-time system could be worked out, the national president should devote at least four months a year to the work of the LCC.

* Five-cents offering: In order to enable the national president to work full-time and to support the work of the LCC as a whole, each member was to be asked to give five cents every year to the LCC.

* Establishing a joint Bible school for women in Qingdao: It was understood that at an appropriate time the Bible school in Qindao would be upgraded and become a seminary for women.[27]

* Publishing Sunday school materials: The LCC was encouraged to translate and adapt the Sunday school curriculum published by the United Lutheran Church of America.[28]

* Establishing a Christian Education Committee: This committee was expected to deal with matters related to religious education in all schools and congregations, such as educational surveys, research projects, consultations, text books, etc.

5. The Fifth Assembly

The Fifth Assembly was held on 10-15 June 1934 at the Shanghai YMCA. Zhu Haorang (Yu-e) was again elected national

[27] Although the Qingdao Lutheran Bible School for Women was built according to the plan, the proposal of a women's seminary was never carried out.

[28] Because of political change in China, this project, although started, was never completed.

president while Zu Qiwu and Einar Smebye, both from Xiangzhong Synod, were elected national vice-presidents.

The assembly approved the following:[29]

* Regulations regarding inviting non-Lutheran revivalists: Over the past three years the fire of spiritual revival had kept spreading in China; this affected many Lutheran churches in positive as well as negative ways. In response to a request made by many churches, the LCC worked out some principles and regulations relating to the invitation of non-Lutheran revivalists.

* Regulations on confirmation: Those to be enrolled in confirmation class should be 14-16 years old. They should meet once or twice a week for three months to two years. Luther's Small Catechism and a brief church history should be studied; some important Bible passages and great hymns should be memorised, and a public examination was to be held before their confirmation. At the confirmation ceremony, each confirmand should receive Holy Communion, be given a Bible and a certificate.

6. The Sixth Assembly

From 13 to 18 June 1937, the LCC met in Loyang, Henan, for the Sixth Assembly. Pen Fu (Yu-e) was elected national president, with Ling Deyuan (Yuegang) and Victor E. Swenson (Yuzhong) as national vice-presidents.

The assembly released the following statistics about the LCC for 1936 (one year before the Sino-Japanese War).[30]

[29] Cf. 'Proceedings of the Fifth General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', Shanghai, June 10-15, 1934; particularly 'Report of Committee on Confirmation Instruction', pp. 41-42.

[30] Cf. ' Minutes of the Sixth General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1936; particularly 'LCC Statistics, 1936'.

Churches: ten synods, 382 organised congregations, 192 branch congregations, 579 evangelism centres; 47,473 members including 36,141 communicants and 11,323 catechumens; 268 Sunday Schools with 12,620 pupils; 288 missionaries including 82 ordained ministers; 678 Chinese coworkers including 68 ordained pastors.[31] The Shanghai Lutheran Congregation was also included in the survey.

Schools: six kindergartens, 134 lower primary schools, 24 higher primary schools, eight middle schools, six Bible schools, four seminaries, four vocational schools, 55 short-term Bible classes.

Hospitals: 11 hospitals; 40 foreign medical staff, including 18 doctors; 209 Chinese medical staff, including 12 doctors. Besides, there were six training schools for nurses with 70 students.

The Sixth Assembly passed many important resolutions, namely to:[32]

* Publish a brief history of the LCC in both Chinese and English.

* Recommend that all synods adopt and use the four record books which the Xiangzhong Synod (NMS) had developed, namely, the church diary, minutes for church meetings, records for Holy Communion and confirmation classes.

* Release a statement on social issues from a Lutheran perspective.

[31] There may be an error in the calculation. The total membership should be 47,513, instead of 47,473, when the Shanghai Lutheran Congregation was included.

[32] *Ibid.*

* Establish the Wold Foundation in memory of O.R. Wold, the first president of both the LTS and the LCC.

* Hand over the work of the Lutheran congregation in Shanghai, which had existed for nine years, to the LCC Board of Domestic Evangelism.

* Establish the the LCC Youth Committee with Dr. Daniel Nelson as general secretary.

* Excommunicate males wanting to take a concubine or females willing to become one.

The resolution attracting most attention was the one about the Programme of Expansion for the Lutheran Missions in China proposed jointly by several mission groups. The programme focussed on strengthening of LCC's theological education and literature work.

Unfortunately, the Japanese invasion prevented this ambitious and far-reaching plan from getting off the ground. Almost all resolutions were shattered to pieces by the unexpected outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War on 7 July 1937, nineteen days after the closing of the assembly.

7. The Seventh Assembly

The Seventh Assembly, scheduled for 1940 in Guangzhou, could not take place because of the Sino-Japanese War. It was not until 21-25 October 1946, more than a year after the end of the war, that the assembly was able to convene. The venue was changed to the LTS which had just returned to Shekou after an exile of two years in Chongqing, the wartime capital of China.

The eight years of resistance to Japan brought unspeakable suffering to the people and loss to the LCC. But God's providence not only allowed the church to survive, but also let it grow, at least in membership. According to an incomplete survey, church membership increased by 62 per cent — from 47,473 before the

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war to 76,953 right after the war.[33]

Fifty-five delegates from 11 synods and 23 council members were able to attend this assembly, a record in the LCC history. Being the first assembly to be held in nine years, it had to wrestle with the many problems related to restoring and rebuilding churches after the war. The amount and the scale of difficulties the LCC had to face were unprecedented.

The assembly discussed and approved many important resolutions such as the following, though some of the resolutions were deferred for action until the National Council could meet.[34] It decided to:

* Accept Yu-eshaan (Henan-Hubei-Shaanxi) Lutheran Church (NLM) and Shaannan (Southern Shaanxi) Lutheran Church (NLF) as new members. Thus the number of synods of the LCC increased to twelve.

* Appoint a Preparation Committee for the Lutheran College, which was to take vigorous measures towards building a joint Lutheran institute of higher education.

* Establish a Board of Directors of the Lutheran Theological Seminary for Women, which was to prepare the opening of a seminary for women.

* Apply for membership to the Lutheran World Federation.

* Appoint Peng Fu and Chen Kaiyuan to represent the LCC at the First Assembly of the LWF in 1947 in Lund, Sweden.

* Look into the possibility of inviting the LWF to hold its Second Assembly in China in 1952. (The council, which met right after the assembly, decided that due to lack of

[33] Cf. 'Minutes of the Seventh Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', Shekou, Oct. 20-23, 1946; also 'LCC Statistics'.

[34] *Ibid.* Also 'Minutes of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Meetings of the Lutheran Church Council', Oct. 16-19 and 26, 1946.

information the matter would be deferred for final action until the Eighth Assembly in 1949.)

* Request that the LWF grant US$12,000 to purchase one hundred bicycles for itinerant evangelistic work in China.

* Establish a Board of Domestic Evangelism which was to expand the evangelistic work among Chinese people. All nine board members were to be Chinese.

* Appoint a Hymnal Revision Committee which was to speed up the complete revision of the hymnal.

* Invite Fuyindao Ludehui of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod to join the Lutheran Board of Publication.

* Approve the LTS plan to open a preparatory department.

* Observe the last Sunday in October of every year as LCC Sunday; all offerings received on that day should go to the LCC for its work.

* Request that the Lutheran Missions Home and Agency in Hankou allocate two rooms to the LCC as temporary offices.

* Elect Pen Fu (Yu-e) national president, and George O. Holm (Yuzhong) and Yu Jun (Xiangzhong) national vice-presidents.

Although all Chinese and Western delegates had suffered a great deal during the war, they were nevertheless in high spirits and optimistic about the future, believing that God's providence and the support of all believers would not only enable the LCC to rebuild quickly, but that it would also grow faster and become bigger than ever before. No one knew then that the civil war between the nationalist and communist forces would follow so soon, shattering almost all the church's decisions, plans and dreams, and that the Seventh Assembly would be the last assembly of the Lutheran Church of China.

8. The Eighth Assembly

Because of the rapid development of the civil war, the Eighth Assembly, which had been scheduled for 10 October 1949 in Guangzhou, never took place. Moving the assembly to Hong Kong turned out to be equally impossible. The national president, Peng Fu, who was in Hong Kong at that time, finally decided to call a National Council meeting instead. So on 4-5 November 1949 the 27th Council met on the hill of Tao Fong Shan, Hong Kong. Tao Fong Shan, the centre of the Christian Mission to Buddhists since 1930, had also become the temporary campus of the LTS after its evacuation from Shekou on 1 December 1948.

The council was opened five weeks after the founding of the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949. Because travel was difficult, many council members from the inner part of China were unable to attend, and had to be represented by LTS faculty and students, or by missionaries from related synods.

The agenda of this council meeting contained mainly the reports from the various synods. Despite confusion caused by the political change and the resulting lack of reliable information, the church as a whole had fared very well. According to a report of 1951, the LCC had a total membership of 103,054, including 83,126 communicants, 727 congregations, 180 Chinese pastors and 1,001 other coworkers.[35] These figures showed a big increase since the last assembly. It was believed that these figures represented the church's situation in 1949, just before liberation. Church membership would decrease rapidly, soon after China was taken over by the Communists.[36]

One of the most important resolutions made during this council meeting was to accept four new members: Zundaohui (The

[35] Carlberg, p. 62.

[36] According to a report of the National Council of Churches in China in March 1951 that the LCC had been accepted as a member of the NCCC and that the membership of the LCC was 65,000.

Lutheran Brethren Mission), Lixianghui (Barmen or Rhenish Mission), Chongzhenhui (Basel Mission) and Daoyouhui (Christian Mission to Buddhists). According to the constitution, this resolution had to be approved by the Eighth Assembly before taking effect. However, since the Eighth Assembly did not take place, the resolution of the council became the only authoritative and accepted decision on this matter.[37] Hence, the LCC now had sixteen synods.

According to LCC regulations, these four synods were to be renamed according to the area they worked in. Lixianghui or the Rhenish Church was to be called Yuexi (western Guangdong) Synod; Chongzhenhui or Tsung Tsin Mission was to be called Yuedong (eastern Guangdong) Synod, Zundaohui was to be called Yuxi (eastern Henan) Synod while Daoyouhui was to be called Hong Kong Synod. However, since both Lixianghui and Chongzhenhui had been working in China for more than one hundred years, and because the nature of the work of Daoyouhui had been very different from all others, it was difficult to decide what new name they should use. As the political situation in China was changing, this matter was finally dropped altogether. However, when Chongzhenhui applied for membership, it stated clearly that it would be willing to change its name to 'The Chung Chen (Chongzhen) Synod of the Lutheran Church of China' when registering with the government.[38]

Since the mission societies of both Lixianghui (Barmen or Rhenish) and Chongzhenhui (Basel) had been founded by mission-minded Christians of the Lutheran church and the Reformed church, the doctrines and practices of these two synods were inevitably both Lutheran and Reformed, particularly Chongzhen Synod. Yet both sincerely accepted the doctrines

[37] Cf. Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', held at Taofongshan, Shatin, Hong Kong, China, November 4-5, 1949. p. 4.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 20. 'Report of the Basel Mission' and 'Our Attitude toward the Lutheran Church of China

specified in the constitution, namely the Holy Scriptures, the three Ecumenical Creeds, Luther's Small Catechism and the Augsburg Confession. The LCC did not ask them to give up their Reformed confessions, such as the Heidelberg Christian Catechism.[39].

By now, the great majority of Lutheran missions working in China at that time had joined the LCC. According to an incomplete survey, in 1949 the LCC had a total of 173 missionaries, 776 Chinese coworkers, 1,063 congregations and 104,779 members.[40] It was then one of the largest Protestant churches in China.

The other Lutheran mission bodies, namely the two missions which had arrived in China in 1890 (the Swedish Missionary Society and the Swedish Evangelical Missionary Covenant of America), and even the Fuyindao Ludehui of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, were all very much interested in joining the LCC. If it were not for the political change in China in 1949, all these churches would most likely have joined the LCC shortly afterwards.

9. 'The Lutheran Church in China'

On 25 January1951, when the national president, Peng Fu, was unable to return to China and decided to stay in Hong Kong for the time being, the LCC called an extended council meeting in Hankou under the leadership of Yu Jun, the national vice-president. Forty-one people attended that special council meeting, including 28 delegates from the various synods, and 13 guests and government officers. It was decided:[41]

* that the LCC constitution was to be revised, and that the name of the church be changed from Zhonghua Xinyihui

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

[40] Cf. Appendix I: Synods and Missions of the Lutheran Church of China.

[41] Based on Thomas Lee's 'Circular Letters' of February 7 and 23, 1951. This Council meeting was reported in detail in *Tian Feng Weekly*, no. 253, March 3, 1951.

(Lutheran Church of China or LCC) to Zhongguo Xinyihui (The Lutheran Church in China or TLCC);[42]

* to abolish the 16 synods and divide the TLCC into five areas and five administrative centres, according to geography. The five areas were the northeast, Henan, Yu-e (Henan and Hubei), Hunan and Yuegang (Guangdong and Jiangxi), while the five centres were Qingdao, Jinghu (Nanjing and Shanghai), Wuhan, Xibei (the northwest)and Xi-nan (the southwest);

* to dismiss Peng Fu as national president;

* to elect Yu Jun as chairman of the new TLCC, and Ai Niansan and Chen Jianxun as vice-chairmen;

* to carry out the Three-Self Movement with determination;

* to join the National Council of Churches in China;

* to cut off all ties with any missions, churches and organisations in Hong Kong;

* no longer to send any students to the LTS in Hong Kong, and to invite patriotic LTS students to return to Hankou.

Hence, the LCC disappeared in mainland China. A few years later, the new TLCC, like most other churches in China, also disappeared. But even though the name of the church was changed and its door closed, the Word of God did not vanish. The work of the church in China for over one hundred years had not been in vain. In the last several decades, we were happy to discover the LCC's great contributions to the Chinese Lutheran churches in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore as well as to many newly opened and rapidly developing churches in mainland China.

[42] In Chinese, Zhonghua means Chinese, while Zhungguo means China.

II GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

We will have a look at the development of all Lutheran synods according to their geographical location. 'Lutheran synods' refers to the sixteen member churches of the LCC. These churches spread in three areas in China, the southern, the central and the northern. They will be introduced one by one according to the order of their arrival in China.

One of the problems when one studies Chinese church history lies in the confusion of names and terms used by the different missions and churches. For example, different mission societies may have used different names to refer to the churches they had built. For consistency, however, we will try to refer to all major mission stations or groups of organised churches as 'districts'; to smaller mission stations or individual churches as 'congregations', and to churches which were not yet organised as 'evangelism centres'.

A. THE SOUTHERN CHINA AREA

The southern China area refers mainly to Guangdong province, but in a lesser way also to Jiangxi province and Hong Kong. This area included five synods: Chongzhen, Lixiang, Yuegang, Yuenan and Daoyou. All of these churches, except Daoyou had their origin in Germany.

1. Chongzhen Synod

Chongzhen Church, or Tsung Tsin Mission as it is called in Hong Kong today, was one of the oldest Chinese Lutheran churches. It was founded by the Basel Missionary Society.

a. The Beginnings

In 1815 a group of 'pietist' young Christians in Basel, Switzerland, founded a mission organisation and called it Basel Missionary Society (BMS). Although its main mission field was India, it had a few smaller mission projects in other parts of Asia

and in Africa. Most of its missionaries and its funding came from Germany, particularly from the German Lutheran churches.[43]

In 1846, encouraged by Karl Gützlaff, the BMS decided to extend its mission work to China. On 20 October of the same year, two BMS missionaries, Theodor Hamberg (1819-1854) from Sweden and Rudolph Lehler (1824-1908) from Germany sailed for China, together with two other missionaries of the Barmen Missionary Society, and arrived in Hong Kong on 19 March 1847. Supervised by Gützlaff, the two young missionaries began working separately among the Hakka- and Swatow-speaking people. But because of unexpected difficulties in their work among the latter, they later decided to hand that project over to another mission and concentrate instead on working solely among the Hakka people.

Like many other mission societies, the BMS mainly worked in Guangdong, yet made Hong Kong its base. In 1852 the BMS began to conduct church services in an old building near Sheungwan Market in Hong Kong, previously owned by the Baptists. This was the beginning of the Hakka church in Hong Kong. In 1862, the BMS built a big church in Sai Ying Pun Hong Kong, today known as Kau Yan Tong (Salvation Church) This church became the base for the BMS China mission and served as guest house for travelling missionaries.

b. The Development

The Chongzhen Church grew fast. In 1877, it already had four districts, 12 congregations, 16 evangelism centres and 953 communicants.[44] In 1896, the number of districts increased to 13, and congregations increased to 39. The total membership

[43] *The China Newsletter* 4, no. 4 (July-August), 1949, 'The Hakka Church of the Basel Mission', pp. 4-8.

[44] Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 1877, 'Statistics of Protestant Missions in China', p. 484.

stood at 4,071, including 2,574 communicants and 1,497 non-communicants.[45] In 1905 the church had 15 districts, 80 congregations and 8,131 members, including 5,691 communicants.[46] According to a survey done in 1935, the church had 16 districts and 124 congregations; 7,501 communicants; three middle schools, a Bible school for women and a seminary. From the list of the 16 districts, we can see the rapid development of the work of the BMS: Hong Kong (1852), Lilong (1859), Kuchuk (1879), Longkeu (1882), Kaying (1883), Hoshuwan (1885), Hokshiha (1885), Pyangtong (1887), Moilim (1889), Hoyuen (1901), Lokong (1901), Chonglok (1908), Hoping (1909), Linping (1909), Canton (?), Laolung (1926).[47]

According to an incomplete survey done in 1949 — the eve of liberation — the church had 24 districts and 157 congregations, three middle schools, two hospitals and a seminary; church membership was unknown.[48]

The reasons for the rapid growth of Chongzhen Church may be summarised as follows:

1) The concentration on Hakka mission: Up to the middle of the 19th century, the working language used by all mission bodies was either Mandarin — the national language — or the major dialect spoken in the area they worked in, which in Guangdong province meant Cantonese. The BMS was an exception, however.

The BMS' work among the Hakka-speaking people no doubt filled an important gap in the mission work of the China of that time. They were the first mission society to concentrate on a people such as the Hakka, who, although numerous, had a dialect that was considered minor. Hamberg of the BMS was the first missionary to learn to speak Hakka.

[45] *The China Mission Handbook*, first issue, 1896, p. 277.

[46] MacGillivray, pp. 480, 483.

[47] Tang, p. 287.

[48] 'Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1949, p. 36 (in Chinese).

2) The BMS emphasised educational ministry: From the very beginning the BMS was enthusiastic in providing education for people both inside and outside the church, and made it a policy to provide it to all children in its churches. In 1877, the BMS already had two boarding schools and six day schools.[49] By 1896, it had 14 primary schools with 262 students, six middle schools with 302 students, and two vocational schools with 32 students.[50] In 1905, the BMS operated 12 boarding schools for its members, with 532 students, nine parish schools with 295 students, a middle school with 75 students, and a kindergarten (in Hong Kong) with 36 students. It also operated 56 day schools for people outside the church, which enrolled 919 pupils. Because of the influence of western culture, it also built two schools for studying English and German, attended by 45 students.[51] After 1911, when the Republic of China was founded and the government gradually took over the responsibility for public education, the BMS, like all other missions and churches, gradually transferred its educational resources to other purposes. So that in the 1935[52] and 1949[53] reports of Chongzhen Church only three schools were mentioned. But no doubt the BMS' emphasis on educational ministry in its early years had contributed a great deal to the church's rapid development.

3) The BMS stressed leadership training: In 1864, Chongzhen Church established a school in Lilong for the training of evangelists. This four-year course school has been described by church historians as the first real seminary in China.[54] Around 1870, the church selected four young people and sent them to

[49] Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, 1877, p. 484.

[50] *The China Mission Handbook*, first issue, 1896, p. 280.

[51] MacGillivray, pp. 478, 483.

[52] Tang, p. 287.

[53] 'Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1949, p. 36 (in Chinese).

[54] Wang Zhixin, *A Brief History of Christianity in China* (in Chinese), p. 310.

study in Basel, with the hope that one day they would lead the church as missionaries. Unfortunately, only one of the four was subsequently willing to stay and serve the church, and this well-intentioned training programme was terminated.[55] But the effort the church invested in leadership development was not in vain. According to a recent study, the number of Chinese workers in Chongzhen Church exceeded that of some other churches having started work in China at about the same time.[56]

4) The BMS advocated self-support: In its report of 1907, Chongzhen Church proposed ways that would lead to self-support. Each church member was to pay a 'church tax' to be used for building churches and paying church workers. In 1904, the church had collected $2,267, i.e., approximately $0.40 from each member. As the annual salary for a primary school teacher at that time was only $24, it was a very encouraging figure. However, the same 1907 report mentioned that only one congregation, Kau Yan Tong in Hong Kong, was wholly self-supporting.

In order to achieve self-governance, the church met in Pyangtong in 1924 for its first assembly. It was there that the name of the church changed from Ba Se — for Basel— to Chongzhen, which meant 'worshipping the truth'.

After the Sino-Japanese War, the Lutheran World Federation provided much assistance for rebuilding a number of the so-called 'orphaned missions' and 'orphaned churches' in China, i.e., missions and churches 'abandoned' by their supporting mission bodies abroad because of the war. The BMS and Chongzhen Church were among them. Some of their congregations, schools, and particularly social service agencies such as hospitals, received

[55] MacGillivray, p. 481.

[56] Chongzhen had 24, 112 and 199 Chinese workers in the years 1877, 1895 and 1905 respectively, while Lixiang had 18, 13 and 34.

much timely help.[57] Chongzhen Church became a member and a synod of the Lutheran Church of China in 1949.[58]

2. Lixiang Synod

Like Chongzhen Church, Lixiang Church — or the Chinese Rhenish Church — was among the oldest Lutheran churches on mainland China.

a. The Beginnings

Also in 1846, and in response to Gützlaff's appeal, the Barmen Mission or Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS) in Barmen, Germany, sent Heinrich Köster (d. 1847) and Ferdinand Genähr (d. 1864) to China. They sailed to Hong Kong on the same ship with the two BMS missionaries mentioned earlier. Gützlaff saw to it that they not only began to study Cantonese right away, but they also lived among the Cantonese people. The main assignment Gützlaff gave them was to supervise those who had had some Bible training at Fu Han Hui, Gützlaff's training centre, as they went about to preach the gospel. But they soon discovered that although Gützlaff's leadership training project was well-intended it was far from practical. Six months later Köster died of illness caused by poor sanitary conditions, and the supervision programme came to an end. Fu Han Hui ceased operations soon afterwards. By the end of 1847 Genähr was forced to take up the Rhenish mission work among the Cantonese people alone.[59]

b. The Development

Although the RMS' activities among the Cantonese encountered numerous difficulties, the hard work of Genähr, and of other missionaries later, and of a handful of Chinese coworkers enabled this church to move forward quite steadily. In 1877, the

[57] *The China News Letter* 4, n. 4 (July-August), 1949. 'The Hakka Church of the Basel Mission', pp. 4-8.

[58] 'Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Meeting', *op. cit.*

[59] The China Mission Hand-book, First Issue, 1896. pp.271-273

number of communicants was 318,[60] though by 1893, it had dropped to 155.[61] By 1905, however, it had increased to 1,043,[62] and then to 2,075 by 1932.[63]

In general, the development of the RMS's mission work was not as smooth and fast as that of the BMS. Two reasons for this were mentioned in the RMS's 1907 report.[64] First, it was more difficult to work among the Cantonese majority than among the Hakka minority. Second, there was a serious difference of opinion among the missionaries about whether the RMS should merge with the Berlin Missionary Society. (The two missions merged in 1872 but split again in 1881.)[65] As a result, seven of the nine missionaries left, and the RMS in Barmen even intended to withdraw from China altogether. Fortunately, under the leadership of Dietrich (d. 1897), who arrived in China in 1877, and with the cooperation of others, the situation took a turn for the better. This is why Dietrich was called the new founder of Lixiang Church in China.[66]

Besides regular evangelistic programmes, Lixiang Church was very much engaged in social service and literature work. In the city of Dongwan, where Lixiang had its headquarters, not only were there a hospital, a clinic and a TB sanatorium built, but also a large leprosarium. In 1949, three fourths of the 220 lepers were reported to be Christians.[67]

There were several famous writers among the Rhenish

[60] 'Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China', 1877, p. 484 .

[61] *The China Mission Handbook*, first issue, 1896, p. 275

[62] MacGillivray, p. 497.

[63] Tang, p. 290.

[64] MacGillivray, p. 406.

[65] Tang, p. 289.

[66] MacGillivray, p. 496.

[67] *The China Newsletter* 4, no. 4 (July-August), 1949. 'Rhenish Mission Grateful for Lifeboat', p. 13.

missionaries, for instance Ferdinand Genähr, Wilhelm Lobscheid and E. Faber. Besides preaching, Genähr was especially engaged in education and writing. He trained a number of evangelists as apprentices and wrote many textbooks for both teaching and studying. His *Questions and Answers on Temple Worship*, *Questions and Answers on Great Learning*, and particularly *An Objective Approach to the Truth* were very well accepted. Lobscheid came to China in 1848 and published twelve books in either Chinese or English, including a Chinese-English dictionary. Faber was not only the greatest writer among the Rhenish missionaries, but one of the most distinguished sinologists among the missionaries. He wrote and translated many books into Chinese, German and English. His five-volume *From the West to the East*, as well as the four-volume *An In-depth Study of the Scriptures* are still often quoted today.[68]

There were also a number of well-known Chinese leaders in Lixiang Church. Wang Yuanshen, the first Chinese coworker and his son Wang Qianru, the first Chinese pastor, are to this day still remembered and treasured by many people.

Lixiang Church encountered serious problems after the Sino-Japanese War, partly because all support from the German mission had stopped, and partly because some mission properties had been condemned as enemy property. Fortunately, with the generous assistance and support the LWF was providing after 1947, the church was able to rebuild quickly. In 1949, Lixiang Church became a member and synod of the Lutheran Church of China.[69]

3. Yuegang Synod

[68] MacGillivray, pp. 492-500.

[69] 'Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1949, p. 43.

3. *Yuegang Synod*

The Yuegang Church was the third Lutheran church established in China. Like Chongzhen and Lixiang, it was the fruit of a German mission society.

a. The Beginnings

In 1850, in order to support Gützlaff's work, the Berlin Missionary Society for China (BMSC) sent its first missionary to China. He arrived in China in March the next year and worked among the Hakka-speaking people. Four years later, after he had left China and returned to Germany, all mission programmes fell on the shoulders of A. Hanspach who had arrived in China in 1854. For the ten years between 1856-1866, Hanspach worked alone. Then, in 1866, the BMSC sent F. Hubrig to China. When Hanspach returned to Germany in 1870, Hubrig succeeded him to lead the work in China.[70]

In 1872, the BMSC was disbanded, and its Hakka programme was handed over to the RMS. Ten years later, in 1882, the RMS asked another mission body, the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS), to send missionaries to China to take over the Hakka programme so that it could again concentrate on its work among the Cantonese.[71] Thus, the Yuegang Church introduced here refers mainly to the church developed by the BMS rather than by the BMSC.

b. The Development

The field in which Yuegang Church worked was large. It covered the land from the south of Guangdong province (Yue) to the south of Jiangxi province (Gang) — thus Yuegang Lutheran Church. At the beginning, because of the Hakka people's deep-rooted mistrust and hatred of foreigners, the mission work among

[70] MacGillivray, 'Berlin Missionary Society', pp. 484-489.

[71] *Ibid.*

them encountered many problems and difficulties. But when Hanspach discovered that education was the key to removing such mistrust and hatred, he began building schools, and within a few years he had established as many as 150 village schools.[72]

Yuegang Church developed quickly. In 1873, one year after the BMSC had merged with the RMS, the church had 369 members. In 1882, when the Hakka programme was handed over to the BMS, the membership increased to 450. In 1894 it increased again to 784. From then on there was a large number of new converts every year, particularly after 1900, when the persecution had ended. In the three years from 1903 to 1905 the annual increase was 1,161, 1,034, and 1,355 respectively. According to a survey in 1905, the church had 5,442 communicants and 123 congregations.[73]

After the First World War, the Yuegang Church, like all other German mission-supported churches, faced many grave problems. In 1925, the church was forced to hand over its work among the Mandarin, begun in Shandong province in 1898, to the United Lutheran Church in America so as to concentrate its work on the Hakka people. (The church in Shandong later became Ludong Synod of the LCC, which will be introduced later.) By 1934, Yuegang Church had ten districts, 4,474 communicants, two middle schools, two clinics and two teaching clinics.[74]

In 1928, the church joined the LCC and became the Yuegang Synod.

After the Sino-Japanese War, Yuegang Synod became one of the 'orphaned churches'. Not only had all mission support from Germany ceased, all mission property was considered 'enemy property'. But with the timely help from the LWF, it was able to overcome the difficulties and began to rebuild. The Norwegian

[72] MacGillivray, p. 485.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] Tang, p. 295.

with expenses covered by LWF.[75]

In 1949, Yuegang Synod had 4,300 members; 16 primary schools with 2,900 students, a middle school with 500 students, a Bible school with 20 students, and two schools for the blind with 50 students.[76]

4. Yuenan Synod

Although Yuenan Church was the last Lutheran church founded by German missionaries, it was the first German-background church to join the LCC, becoming a member and a synod of the LCC in 1924.

a. The Beginnings

In 1897, the Free Church in Kiel, Germany, established the Kieler China Mission (KCM). Three years later, the KCM sent missionaries to work in Beihai in Guangdong province. In 1902, they also started work in Lianzhou, and later in Nankang.

b. The Development

By 1912, the church had 63 members, including 25 communicants, as well as three lower primary schools and two higher primary schools. The offerings from church members amounted to only $80 each year;[77] yet, as most Chinese people at that time were poor, it was still a figure to be proud of.

After the First World War, the KCM decided to disband due

[75] *The China Newsletter* 2, no. 7 (October-November), 1947, p. 2. they were Rev. and Mrs. Thorvold Gogstad, Rev. Herlof Anderson, and Rev. and Mrs. Leif Solomonsen.

[76] 'Minutes of Twenty-Seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1949, pp. 37-38.

[77] Thos. Cochrane, *Survey of the Missionary Occupation of China*, 1913, p. 29.

to the lack of funds and personnel. In 1920, the KCM handed over all its work and property to Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Church in Breklum in northern Germany, usually called Breklum Mission (BM) or SHLM. The BM sent Felix Paulsen and other missionaries to Beihai, Lianzhou and Nankang to continue mission work. But shortage of personnel and money made the church's development relatively slow. By 1937 the church had six congregations and 28 evangelism centres; 474 members, including 341 communicants.[78]

During the Sino-Japanese War, Yuenan Church, like all other German mission-supported churches, faced financial, personnel and political problems; these grew even worse after the war was over. But the generous support from the LWF finally enabled Yuenan to overcome its difficulties and to rebuild. In 1947, the Finnish Missionary Society in Hunan, with the LWF's financial support, loaned twelve missionaries to Yuenan to assist in it work.[79] During the 1946 LCC Seventh Assembly, Yuena presented an ambitious plan in thirteen points for rebuilding th church and for a new development. Unfortunately, the civil war, which broke out right after the assembly, made it almost impossible to carry out these plans.[80]

5. Daoyou Synod

The Daoyou (or Taoyou) Church refers to the church established by the Christian Mission to Buddhists (CMB) headquartered in Oslo, Norway. Like Chongzhen and Lixiang churches, Daoyou Church did not become a member and a synod of the LCC until 1949.

[78] 'Minutes of the Sixth General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1937. Cf. 'Statistics'.

[79] *The China Newsletter* 2, no. 7 (October-November), 1947, p. 9.

[80] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946 (in Chinese), 'Yuegang Synod Report', pp. 54-55.

a. The Beginnings

Daoyou Church was dedicated to bringing the gospel to the monks and nuns of other Chinese religions, particularly Buddhism. It was founded by the Norwegian missionary Karl L. Reichelt (1877-1952).[81]

From childhood, Reichelt had wanted to become a missionary. In 1904, the Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS) sent him to Ningxiang, Hunan. The following year, when visiting a famous Buddhist monastery on Weishan mountain, he was deeply moved to see hundreds of monks and nuns eager to find salvation but unable to do so. It was there that in a vision he saw many people from various parts of the world, including monks and nuns, coming to Jesus. He was reminded of what the Lord had said in John 10:16: 'There are other sheep which belong to me that are not in this sheepfold. I must bring them too. They will listen to my voice, and they will become one flock with one shepherd.' Reichelt felt that he was called by the Lord to bring the gospel to the other sheep of the same Lord, who were not in the same sheepfold.

When the Lutheran Theological Seminary was established in Shekou in 1913, Reichelt joined the faculty as a representative of the NMS. Amidst teaching, writing and editing *Xinyi Bao* (Lutheran Bulletin), he never gave up his mission among the Buddhist monks. In 1919, after he had baptised the Rev. Kuangduo, the first Buddhist monk who made a decision for Christ, Reichelt knew his time was ripe. He resigned from the seminary and returned to Norway, where he began to propagate his vision of evangelising Buddhist monks. Many people in Norway, Sweden and Denmark responded positively to his call, and he was able to gather all those who were willing to support him and establish The Christian Mission to Buddhists. (At one time, in order to show its Scandinavian background, the CBM

[81] For a detailed account of the life and work of Reichelt, cf. *The Work of Taofenshan* (in Chinese).

also called itself Scandinavian East Asia Mission.) Thus began an ambitious mission project aimed at the thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns.

b. The Development

On 1 November 1922, this historical mission work was officially begun. It was then that Reichelt returned to China, together with his faithful partner, Notto N. Thelle. They immediately began working among the monks in Nanjing, then the capital of China. They purchased a hill and called it Jing Feng Shan. In order to attract and entertain Buddhist monks, they called their mission centre Jidujiao Conglin, or Christian monastery (*conglin* was a special term used for Buddhist monasteries). As the number of monks who came to visit them kept increasing, they began to open a school for those who wanted to learn more about Christianity. During the first six years several thousand monks visited this *conglin*, and a number of them became Christians.

But the good times did not last. In 1927, when the so-called Nanjing Riots broke out, the rioters burned down the buildings on Jing Feng Shan and Reichelt was forced to move his mission centre to Shanghai. In the following three years, he travelled around to all the famous Chinese Buddhist monasteries to proclaim the gospel and to try to find a place where he could build a permanent base for his mission work. In the beginning of 1930, he finally found a beautiful hill in Shatin, Hong Kong, which he then bought with the compensation he had received from the Chinese government for his loss in Nanjing. He called the hill Tao Fong Shan, which literally translated means 'Hill of the Wind of the Word', and the centre he built there became Taofongshan Jidujiao Conglin, or Taofongshan Christian Monastery.

In order to reach the monks more easily, Reichelt insisted that all buildings, decorations, terms, food and even liturgies in Taofongshan Conglin should be as similar as possible to those in Buddhist temples. Thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns came

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to Taofongshan after hearing about Reichelt and his newly built *conglin*. Some came out of curiosity, while others came to seek truth. Still others came to find a handle to fight Christianity. But whatever their reasons, the gospel began to spread among Buddhist monks and nuns. By the eve of liberation in 1949, about 220 monks and nuns had been baptised.

To provide further study opportunities for those who wanted to know more about Christianity, Reichelt established the Religion Study Institute which offered courses similar to those in the seminaries. In 1936, the first three students graduated. They became the first group of competent Chinese workers in Daoyou Church. But after the Sino-Japanese War, the CMB had to close the Religion Study Institute because of a shortage of personnel and funds. From then on, instead of training leaders itself, it sent qualified candidates to the Lutheran Theological Seminary. Some of those who had graduated from the LTS returned to Taofongshan and served Daoyou Church, others became ministers in the Lutheran churches in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and the USA.

One of the immediate problems which Buddhist monks and nuns had to face after converting to Christianity was how to make a living, since most had no professional skills. The CMB therefore started a vocational training programme so as to enable them to live their daily lives; it included accounting and other business skills, as well as porcelain painting. Today, their beautifully painted 'gospel porcelain' is sold all over the world.

In order to speed up mission work among monks, the CMB intended to build mission stations in every Chinese province and every country in Southeast Asia. After establishing mission stations in Nanjing (1923), Hangzhou (1935), Beijing (1938), Shanghai (1927), it also organised mission societies for work in Mongolia and Qinhai. After the war, the CMB also opened a mission branch in Hengshan, Hunan, very close to Nanyue mountain, the site of one of the most famous Buddhist shrines in China.

Although there was no gender discrimination in the CMB, at first it had been concentrating on mission to monks. It was not until 1948 that the CMS started work among nuns when in spring it sent three women missionaries from Norway, Denmark and Sweden to work among Buddhist nuns. Two were sent to Hong Kong, the third to Hanzhou.

Since 1924, when the LCC met for its Second Assembly, the CMB began applying for LCC membership. But its application was never approved on the grounds that 'the time was not ripe'. The real reason was not, according to what was understood later, that the LCC did not recognise the importance of the CMB's work, but that some of the LCC member churches were suspicious of its syncretist tendencies. It was not until November 1949, when the LCC met on Taofongshan for its last council meeting, that the CMB's application was finally approved.[82] The main reason for this change was that the LTS had moved to Taofongshan a year before, and this had greatly improved the LCC's understanding of the beliefs and practices of the CMB.

On 17 March 1937, Reichelt was awarded the Order of Saint Olaf by the King of Norway, in recognition of his efforts, and in 1941 a D.D. degree by the University of Uppsala in Sweden. Reichelt died of illness on 13 March 1952 on Taofongshan and was buried in Taofongshan cemetery which he had built about twenty years earlier.

B. THE CENTRAL CHINA AREA

The central China area comprised four provinces: Henan, Hubei, Hunan and Shaanxi. Within these four provinces, there were nine synods, the fruits of mission societies from different

[82] According to Carlberg's *The Changing China Scene*, p. 62, Daoyou Church was accepted by the LCC as a 'special mission', but in both the Chinese (p. 4) and the English (p. 5) 'Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', it was accepted as a "synod".

countries, namely four from America, three from Norway and one each from Finland and Sweden. Three of these nine churches worked in Hunan, two in Henan, two in Henan and Hubei, one in Henan, Hubei and Shaanxi, and one in Shaanxi.

1. Yu-e Synod

Yu-e Synod, the first Chinese church established by American Lutherans, had its roots in three separate mission bodies: The American Lutheran Synod, which came to China in 1890, the Hauge Synod, which came in 1891, and the Lutheran Synod Mission in 1913.[83] As all three missions had been organised and supported by Norwegian immigrants in the American Midwest and all had chosen Henan (Yu) and Hubei (E) provinces as their mission fields, they finally merged in 1917 to form a joint mission, the Lutheran United Mission (LUM). In 1920, the church that the LUM had founded joined the LCC and became one of its first synods, the Yu-e (Henan-Hubei) Synod.

a. The Beginnings

The arrival of the Rev. Daniel Nelson (1853-1926) in Shanghai on 30 November 1890 marked the beginning of the work of Yu-e Synod. Nelson was a Norwegian who had emigrated to the USA. During his fourteen years as a sailor he had visited Shanghai twice. What he had seen and heard in Shanghai at that time, and the many Norwegian mission activities he had attended, aroused his great interest in China mission.

One day, early in 1890, when Daniel Nelson was working on the roof of his house, he suddenly heard a call form the Holy Spirit: 'Sell your farm and take your family to China!' He immediately accepted the call and jumped down from the roof to tell his wife. Although many people thought his decision unwise, he sold his farm and, disregarding all possible consequences, sailed to China with his wife and children, as missionary of the American Lutheran Mission.

[83] Carlberg, p. 19.

Daniel Nelson first worked in Hankou, Hubei, for ten years, before moving to Xinyang, Henan, in 1901 where he stayed for twenty-five years. In the spring of 1926 Xinyang was terrorised by bandits, and many people came and took refuge in his church; consequently the church became a target of attack. On the evening of 8 February, when he was getting ready to go to bed, Nelson was killed by a stray bullet. Shortly afterwards, a group of bandits kidnapped and killed his oldest son.[84] Twenty-two years later, in 1948, his youngest son, Dr. Daniel Nelson, Jr., and his whole family, perished on their way back to Hong Kong from Macao where they had gone on a brief visit. Their plane was hijacked by bandits and crashed into the sea after a fight had broken out on board. It is certainly rare in mission history to see almost an entire family die for their work the way the Nelsons did for China. At that time, Daniel Nelson, Jr. was the director of the LWF China Office, and his contributions to the support and rebuilding of many of the LCC churches and the related missions during and after the war have never been forgotten.

In 1891, the Hauge Synod's first missionary, Halvor Ronning (1862-1950), arrived in Shanghai. Under the guidance of Griffith John (1831-1912), the most highly respected missionary of that time, Hauge Synod selected north-western Hubei as their mission field, and began its work in the city of Fangcheng. In 1913, the Lutheran Synod Mission sent George O. Lillegaard to China who started mission work in Guangzhou, Henan. In 1917, when the three mission societies in the USA merged, their mission programmes in China also became united.[85]

b. The Development

Most of Yu-e Synod's work was in Henan province and some in Hubei. Since it was a joint enterprise of three missions, the

[84] For a fuller account of the life, work and family of Daniel Nelson, cf. James Scherer, 'The Lutheran Missionary Pioneers: Who Were They?', *Currents in Theology and Mission* 17, no. 1 (October), 1990, '1890-1990 , The ALM in China'.

[85] Tang, pp. 296, 301.

synod grew very fast. In 1935, on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, it had 53 missionaries, 11 Chinese pastors, and 13 districts, 5,960 communicants, three middle schools with 438 students, and one hospital. Two of its thirteen districts were in Hubei: Fancheng (1892) and Taipingdian (1898). The other eleven were all in Henan: Xinyang (1898), Yu-nan (1898), Xinye (1903), Queshan (1905), Loshan (1909), Zhengyang (1909), Suiping (1912), Guangzhou (1913), Dengxiang (1914), Guangshan (1915), Xixian (1916).[86]

During the war, the whole area of Yu-e Synod was occupied by the Japanese. A number of its districts, particularly Yu-nan, Zhengyang and Xinyang were devastated. But according to a church report of 1946, one year after the war, the church had kept growing all through the war. In that year, Yu-e Synod had 15 missionaries, 22 Chinese pastors, 66 evangelists, 37 Bible women; 15 districts, 125 congregations, 88 evangelism centres; 15,570 members, including 9,983 communicants. Yu-e also had 61 primary schools, seven middle schools and one Bible school.[87]

Yu-e Synod had many talented leaders. A number of them held positions of responsibility in both the Lutheran Theological Seminary (LTS) and the Lutheran Board of Publication (LBP), for instance Oscar R.Wold and Erik Sovik, who served for years as LTS president and vice-president respectively. Wold, Zhu Haorang and Peng Fu were all elected president of the LCC at one time or another. And both Ingvald Daehlin and Yang Daorong worked for some years as editor-in-chief of the LBP.

Yu-e Lutheran Church was one of the five founding churches of the LCC in 1920.

[86] Tang, pp. 303-304.

[87] 'Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

2. Yu-eshaang Synod

Yu'eshaang Synod was the first Lutheran church in China established by Norwegian missionaries.

a. The Beginnings

The influence of Hans Nielsen Hauge's lay movement at the beginning of the 19th century, and the impact of Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission during the latter part of the same century roused much interest in China mission among Norwegian Christians. On Whitsunday 1891, a group of lay people interested in China mission gathered in Bergen and formed a mission society for China, later known as the Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM). In November of the same year, the first three missionaries, J. Brandtzaeg, L. Johnsen and Arestad (who later married Johnsen) arrived in Shanghai. In June 1892 they began mission work in Laohekou (Guanghua), Hubei.

After 1894, the NLM sent a number of missionaries to China. In order to meet the increasing need for more missionaries, the NLM opened a missionary training school in Oslo. Unfortunately, five missionaries resigned in 1901 because they disagreed with certain mission policies (e.g., no ordination for missionaries, no liturgy in worship, etc.). A year later, three of the five missionaries went to Hunan and joined the Norwegian Missionary Society. This split caused much damage to the development of the NLM.[88]

b. The Development

Most of the NLM's work was in Henan (Yu) and Hubei (E), the rest in Shaanxi (Shaan). Thus the church the NLM established was called Yu-eshaang Lutheran Church. Beginning in 1932, the NLM also started work in northeastern China, at that time known as Manchuria.

[88] Du Sheng-en, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in the Republic of China: A Brief Story of the Work of the NLM in China Between 1891-1991* (in Chinese), pp.12-37.

Yu-eshaang was a mission-minded and laity-oriented church. Two of its Chinese pastors, Li Xuanzhi and Liu Daosheng, were outstanding evangelists. This was one of the reasons it grew fast, even though the educational level of its ministers was comparatively low. In 1906 it had only 204 members, but 533 in 1911, 1,650 in 1917, and 2,464 in 1922. By 1935 — on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War — Yu-eshaang Church had 22 congregations, 110 evangelism stations and 2,213 communicants in ten districts. Four of the ten districts were in Hubei, namely Laohekou (1893), Yunyang (1899), Junxian (1900) and Fangxian (1912); six districts were in Henan, namely Shihuajie (1903), Zhenping (1903), Nanyang (1903), Zhechuan (1903), Dengxian (1903), and Lushan (1906). In addition, it established an Bible school for men in Laohekou, Hubei (1919), along with a seminary (1923), a school for children of missionaries and a hospital. In Dengxian, Henan, it opened a Bible school for women (1930), and in Junxian, Hubei, it built a school for the blind (1917). During this period, the NLM had a total of seventy missionaries in China, the highest number ever.[89]

Although Yu-eshaang Lutheran Church suffered a great deal during the war, it did not stop growing. According to a report of 1946, one year after the war, it had 18 districts, namely eight in Henan, eight in Hubei and two in Shaanxi. The eight Henan districts were: Baofeng, Nanzhao, Nanyang, Dengxian, Zhenping, Neixian, Zhechuan and Lushan. The eight Hubei districts were: Guanghua (Laohekou), Gucheng, Fangxian, Zhushan, Zhuxi, Junxian, Yunxian and Yunxi. The two Shaanxi districts were: Baihe and Xunyang. Total membership in 1946 was 4,676, including 3,746 communicants and 930 children.[90]

In its 1949 report, Yu-eshaang Church mentioned that because of the civil war between Nationalists and Communists many of its reconstruction plans could not be realised. The report did say,

[89] Du Sheng-en, p. 30; Tang, pp. 313-314.

[90] 'Minutes of the Seventh Assembly of LCC' 1946,pp.48-49,and 'LCC Statistics'.

however, that in 1947 the church had established the high school in Laohekou, something it had wanted to do for many years. And during Christmas that year, twelve students graduated from the seminary there.[91]

In 1932, in view of the endless political struggles and the ever-increasing anti-foreign sentiment in China, the NLM in Norway decided to launch new mission fields in Xin-an and Helunjiang in northeastern China, areas then occupied by the Japanese. Because of the restrictions the Japanese placed on missionaries, growth of work was very slow. In 1940, the NLM had 24 missionaries and 800 members in the northeast. Right after Japan had surrendered, the Soviet forces marched in. In the spring of following year, the Soviet authorities ordered all forty-one NLM missionaries and their families to leave China. Left behind were four tombs of missionaries and of their families, and about 1,000 church members, the result of fourteen years of labour.[92]

In 1946, Yu-eshaang joined the LCC and became one of its synods.

3. Yuxi Synod

The Yuxi Synod was founded by the American Lutheran Brethren Mission (LBM) of the Church of the Lutheran Brethren in the USA. The LBM was small compared to the other Lutheran missions in China, and like wise Yuxi Synod was quite small compared to the other synods in LCC.

a. The Beginnings

The LBM was established in 1900 by Swedish immigrants in the USA. Although it was small, it was greatly dedicated to

[91] Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1949, pp. 22-24.

[92] Du Sheng-en, pp. 34-35.

overseas mission. In 1901 it decided to send missionaries to China. A year later, Reinholt Kilen and his wife Juline arrived in Hankou. Soon afterwards, they chose Zhaoyang, Hubei, as their mission centre. Over the next forty years, the LBM sent a total of thirty missionaries to China.[93]

b. The Development

Since the LBM's work was on the border between the west of Henan (Yu) and the north of Hubei (E), the church it founded was first called Yu-e Border Region Lutheran Church. Besides Zhaoyang in Hubei, the LBM also established districts in Tongbo (1910), Pingshizheng (1911) and Tanghe (1930) in Henan.[94]

According to its report of 1906, the church had seven missionaries, five communicants and about 100 catechumen, a school for boys and one for girls. By 1926, membership had increased to 500.[95] In the fall of 1936, the church established a Bible school in Zhaoyang. The well-known Rev. Mark Chen (Chen Chonggui), who was to found Chongqing Theological Seminary, was one of the students in that school's first class.[96]

The 1935 report showed that by the end of 1934, besides the four districts mentioned above, the church had ten missionaries, 20 Chinese co-workers, and four Sunday schools.[97]

In 1942, when the church celebrated its 40th anniversary, it had five districts, 30 congregations, seven evangelism centres, and about 1,000 baptised members.[98]

[93] Juline Kilen, *Forty Years in China: A Brief History of the Lutheran Brethren Mission Work in China, 1902-1942* (Fergus Falls, Minn.: Broderbaandet Publishing Company, 1942), p. 155 .

[94] Tang, p. 307.

[95] Kilen, p. 69.

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[97] Tang, p. 307.

[98] Kilen, p. 156.

As a church of Lutheran-Brethren background, Yuxi put a lot of emphasis on personal salvation, fellowship among believers and the role of the laity in the church. (It did not, however, adhere rigidly to Lutheran liturgy in worship.) As the church was relatively conservative, its growth was also comparatively slow.

In 1949 it became a member of the LCC and was called Yuxi (western Henan) Synod.

4. Xiangxi Synod

Two Finnish mission groups were at work in China. One of them belonged to the Finnish Free Church, and the other was associated to the Lutheran Church of Finland. Xiangxi Lutheran Church was founded by the latter.[99]

a. The Beginnings

The Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) was established in 1858 to bring the gospel to Finnish people in the Russian empire. But its plans had no chance to be carried out because Russia, dominated by the Orthodox Church, did not allow a Reformation church to work there. In 1893, the FMS turned its attention to Africa and began working there. With increasing interest for mission in the Far East, the FMS planned to extend its work to Mongolia and Manchuria. But the Russian invasion of Manchuria prevented the FMS from doing this. It was only in 1901 that the FMS decided to make western Hunan province its mission field.[100]

In spring 1901, the first FMS missionary, Erland Sihvonen (1873-1967) and his wife arrived in China. The next year, they went to Changde, Hunan. In 1903, they opened a mission station in Jingshi, a city in western Hunan.[101]

[99] MacGillivray, p. 501.

[100] *Ibid.*, pp. 502-503.

[101] *Ibid.*

b. The Development

Hunan was called the 'Iron Gate' of mission work. It was the last province to open its door for Christian mission. It was said that the stubbornness of the Hunan people made them very difficult to accept anything new from outside. As western Hunan was remote and quite inaccessible, the difficulties the FMS encountered were numerous, and its work therefore grew more slowly than that of some other mission societies. But the faithful and persevering efforts of the missionaries and their Chinese colleagues made the development of Xiangxi (western Hunan) Lutheran Church a satisfactory enterprise.

In 1906, the FMS established two church districts in Jinshi and Yongding, and five congregations in Xinzhou, Mengxishi, Yanjing, Zhangjiachang and Jiaoche. There were 18 baptised members, including 15 communicants. They also had a boarding school for boys and a day school for girls in Jinshi, and two other day schools attached to two different congregations.[102]

By 1934, Xiangxi Lutheran Church had progressed considerably. It had 1,500 members in 29 congregations and five districts. It also had a hospital. Four of the five districts were in western Hunan and the fifth was in Hubei: Jinshi (1903), Dayong (1905), Cili (1907), Yongshun (1916) and Shekou (1921). By request of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, the Shekou district was set up as an outreach centre and as a place for its students to get their field education.[103]

According to the 1936 church report, on the eve of the war Xiangxi Synod had 70 congregations and 11 evangelism centres, 2,022 members including 1,581 communicants and 541

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] Tang, p. 322.

catechumen, three junior primary schools and one senior primary school, and a hospital.[104]

During the first half of the Sino-Japanese War, i.e., from 1937 to 1942, when western Hunan was not yet under Japanese occupation, the synod was able to carry on with its work as usual. But many of its churches were destroyed after 1942, when most of western Hunan was occupied by the Japanese. By the end of 1944 most Finnish missionaries had been forced to leave China. Financial support from the FMS stopped and many Chinese co-workers had to resign. It was not until the war was over that the church, with assistance from the LWF, was able gradually to reconstruct. According to its 1946 report, the church had 28 congregations in seven districts, 2,464 members, namely 1,789 communicants, 490 children and 185 catechumen. It also had a lower primary school,a higher primary school,and a middle school, as well as a hospital.[105]

From the very beginning, the FMS enthusiastically supported the LCC's theological education and literature work by sending a total of four professors to the LTS, two of which were Sihvonen and Koskikallio. Sihvonen, who was the FMS's pioneer missionary to China, taught at the LTS for fourteen years (1915-1929) and was one of the earliest major faculty members. Besides translating and writing, Sihvonen also served as editor of *Xinyibao*. Toivo Koskikallio (1889-1967), who had arrived in China in 1920, was a sinologist who translated many Chinese classics into Finnish. When the LTS moved to Hong Kong, Koskikallio joined its faculty for four years (1952-1956), serving two years as its president (1954-1956).

Xiangxi Lutheran Church was one of the five founding members and one of the first five synods of the LCC in 1920.

[104] 'Minutes of the Sixth General Assembly of LCC', 1937. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[105] 'Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the LCC'. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

5. Xiangzhong Synod

Xiangzhong Synod was established by the Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS) which worked in Hunan province since 1902.

a. The Beginnings

The NMS was founded in 1842 in Stavanger, Norway. Its main purpose was to bring the gospel to Africa. In 1844, it tried to send a first missionary, H. P. S. Schrender, to Zululand in Africa, but entry was denied him. In 1847, Schrender was sent to Hong Kong instead. Six months later he left the country again, after discovering that he would never be accepted by the Chinese.[106] (It was said that Gützlaff had told him that he was too big and too tall, and that his skin and hair looked too strange to the Chinese.) Schrender later went to Africa and did a wonderful job there.

After the Boxer Uprising in 1900, China became the focus of mission interest of the whole world. Also the NMS decided to return to China. Guided by the famous missionary Griffith John, the NMS decided on central Hunan as its mission field.

The year 1902 saw the arrival of the first group of NMS missionaries, namely Nils Mikkelsen Arnetvedt, J.A.O. Gotteberg and his wife Ragnhild, a doctor, and Jorgen E. Nilssen, also a doctor. Shortly afterward, A. Hertzberg also arrived. Since Arnetvedt, Gotteberg and Hertzberg had worked in Yu-eshaang Lutheran Church as NLM missionaries for some time and had learned Chinese, they were able to start working right away.[107]

[106] MacGillivray, p. 510.
[107] *Ibid.*

b. The Development

Xiangzhong Lutheran Church developed fast. By 1905, after only three years, it had established four districts, four day schools and had 141 members, including 63 communicants.[108]

In 1920, when Xiangzhong joined the LCC and became one of its first five synods, it had six districts and 66 congregations, 5,558 baptised members and 2,402 catechumen, 55 lower primary schools, nine higher primary schools, a middle school, a teacher training school, eight other schools, and two hospitals.[109]

By 1937, just before the war broke out, the number of NMS congregations had increased to 78 and that of the evangelism centres to 51. It had 7,862 members, namely 4,691 communicants, 2,057 children and 1,114 catechumen, ten lower primary schools, five higher primary schools, two middle schools, two Bible schools, a vocational training school, and 47 short-course Bible classes, two hospitals and a training school for nurses.[110]

In Hunan, as it was strategically important, the fighting during the war was exceptionally fierce. Many churches were bombed or burned down.

Most of the Norwegian missionaries had to leave China and return home after Norway had been invaded by Hitler. As all mission subsidies were cut off, most of the local church workers had to quit and to find other jobs in order to survive. But a few faithful ones stayed on to keep the fire of faith burning.[111]

[108] *Ibid.*

[109] Proceedings of the Church Council of the Lutheran Church of China', 1921, pp. 28-29.

[110] Minutes of the Sixth General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1937. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[111] In a testimony, the author gave a detailed account of how his father, the Rev. Hsiao Han-fan, a faithful Lutheran minister in Ningxiang, died of the hardships of the war.

According to its report of 1946, right after the war, the church had 84 congregations and 62 evangelism centres in eight districts; 9,681 members, namely 6,020 communicants, 2,776 baptised children and 865 catechumen, three lower primary schools, one higher primary school, a middle school and two hospitals. Compared to the statistics from before the war, the number of schools had dropped rapidly as the government gradually began taking over the responsibility for public education, and yet the number of churches kept growing.[112] The eight church districts were: Changsha (1903), Yiyang (1903), Ningxiang (1904), Taohualun (1905), Xinhua (1906), Dongping (1912) and Anhua (1939).

Xiangzhong Synod began reconstructing as soon as the Sino-Japanese War was over. Unfortunately, the civil war that immediately followed made all reconstruction plans impossible. As the synod's 1949 report stated, even membership had dropped. The only encouraging news was that the two Bible schools, one for men and the other for women, were able to reopen.

Xiangzhong Synod was not only one of the LCC's five founding member churches, but also one of its fastest growing and strongest synods. The following reasons have been cited for its success:[113]

1) The initial group of NMS missionaries, namely Arnetvedt, Gotteberg and his wife Ragnhild, Nilssen and Hertzberg were all highly educated. Three of them had previously worked in China as NLM missionaries, and could therefore begin their work with ease and without delay.

2) From the very beginning, the NMS had launched an all-round mission programme, which included evangelism, education

[112] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[113] Cf. Anna Wang Hsiao, 'Historical Development of Xiangzhong Synod', M. Div. thesis, LTS, 1991, pp. 119-127.

and social services. In Taohualun mission centre, it not only founded a primary school, a middle school and a Bible school, but also established a hospital, an institute for the blind and an orphanage. In Xinhua, it also established a large leprosarium. The Lutheran Middle School, which it had founded in 1906, became one of the finest middle schools in the nation.

3) Xiangzhong Synod was a church with many talented leaders, particularly in theological education and literature. Sten Bugge, Xie Shouling, Wang Xieyao, Tang Qing (Christopher Tang) were all excellent seminary teachers; Bugge also served as LTS president (1930-1934). As to Christian literature, almost all those who served as editor-in-chief for the *Xinyibao* (Lutheran Bulletin) or the Lutheran Board of Publication came from Xiangzhong Synod and the NMS. Among them, Chen Jiangshun was regarded as especially remarkable. Besides, Liang Jiashih, Zu Qiwu, Yu Yun and Chen Junde all served competently in the LCC in one capacity or another.

4) Xiangzhong Synod and the NMS were very careful in their keeping of church records: Almost all important records, namely all the meeting minutes, work reports, membership records, etc., were kept in three languages, i.e., Chinese, Norwegian and English. No wonder that during the Sixth Assembly the LCC encouraged all its member churches to learn from Xiangzhong and the NMS, and to adopt the same kinds of records. Not only could such records help churches to preserve their history, but they could also advance their development.

6. Yuzhong Synod

Like Yu-e Synod, Yuzhong Synod's supporting mission was in Minneapolis, and founded by Scandinavian immigrants. The former mainly consisted of immigrants from Norway, while the latter was mainly made up of Swedish immigrants.

a. The Beginnings

Yuzhong Synod was established by Augustana Synod Mission (ASM) in the USA. In October 1905, ASM sent August William Edwins (1871-1942) and his wife to China. They began work in central Henan the next year, first in Xuchang, and then in Loyang, Weixian, Xiaxian and Yanshi. But it was not until 1910 that they had the first baptism. Dr. Edwins taught at the LTS between 1921 and 1942. After Pearl Harbor, Edwins was jailed by the Japanese; he was repatriated but died on his way to the USA. His body was buried in the Pacific Ocean.[114]

Several ASM missionaries were well known to the Chinese church, namely Victor Swenson, John Benson and Gustav Carlberg who had come earlier, and Russell Nelson who came later. For many years, Carlberg taught at the LTS (1928-1952) and served as its president (1934-1952). When the LWF was helping the orphaned missions and their related churches in China, Russell Nelson was appointed South China commissioner to assist Daniel Nelson, the director of the LWF China Office. In 1948, Russel Nelson joined the LTS faculty where he was also president from 1952 to 1954.

b. The Development

Since Yuzhong Synod and ASM had many talented leaders, their work developed fast. In 1920, the church joined the LCC and became one of its founding members. In that year, it had 35 missionaries, 65 Chinese co-workers, five congregations, 12 evangelism centres, 801 baptised members, 500 catechumen, 17 primary schools, five senior primary schools, and one middle school.[115]

[4] Carlberg, pp. 240-241.

[5] Proceedings of the Church Council of the Lutheran Church of China', 1921, pp. 28-29.

By 1927, Yuzhong Synod already had seven congregations and 30 evangelism centres. It had 4,652 believers, namely 2,017 communicants, 192 non-communicants and 2,443 catechumen, 27 missionaries and 173 Chinese co-workers, two kindergartens, 29 lower primary schools, eight higher primary schools, two middle schools and one Bible school, one orphanage and two hospitals. The growth was certainly impressive. Unfortunately, three years later, in 1930, Yuzhong Synod, like many other churches, not only experienced a big decrease in membership but had to close almost all its schools.[116] The political turbulences which resulted in chaos in most of the country, plus the impact of the anti-Christian movement which had started in 1920 and targeted the churches, were some of the reasons that made mission work very difficult during that period.

After 1930, as the political situation improved, Yuzhong church was growing again. In 1935, when it celebrated its 30th anniversary, it had 63 congregations, 69 evangelism centres in ten districts, 7,074 members, namely 2,395 communicants, 459 children and 4,220 catechumen.[117] The unusually large number of catechumen showed that it was a church which stressed evangelism. Pastors Swenson, Ai Niansan, and particularly Wu Zhengming were all very gifted evangelists.

By 1937, on the eve of the war, Yuzhong had made further progress. It had 69 congregations, and 86 evangelism centres, 8,210 members, namely 2,820 communicants, 584 children, and 4,806 catechumen. The church also had 16 lower primary schools, four higher primary schools, one Bible school, one seminary, and two vocational training schools, two hospitals and two training schools for nurses.[118]

[116] Minutes of the Fourth General Assembly of the Lutheran of China', 1931. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[117] Minutes of the Twentieth Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1936. Cf. Report of the Yu-Chung (Yuzhong) Synod for 1935, pp. 13-16.

[118] Minutes of the Sixth General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1937. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

During the war, many of its mission fields were closed, many of its projects discontinued, and many of its workers dispersed. But some of them never forgot to carry on their mission task. They started and built Lutheran churches wherever they went as refugees, some of then in remote places such as Xi-an and Baoji in Shaanxi province.[119]

The last public report Yuzhong made was in 1949, when the civil war was about to finish. At that time, the church had about 7,000 baptised members, and opened several new fields, not only in Hankou in Hubei province, but also in very remote areas, such as Tianxui in Gangshu province and Kunming in Yunnan province.[120]

Besides the two reasons already mentioned that accounted for Yuzhong's rapid growth, this church placed great emphasis on Bible study. In its 30th-anniversary report, President John Benson said: 'Most of our congregations practise daily Bible study, some of them at 5:30 in the morning.'[121]

7. Yudong Synod

Yudong Lutheran Church was established by the Lutheran Board of Missions (LBrM) of the Lutheran Free Church (LFC). The LBrM was the last Lutheran mission of the USA to work in China.

a. The Beginnings

The LBrM was established in 1899, two years after the LFC had been founded. Its headquarters were in Minneapolis and its first mission field was Madagascar in Africa. As more and more

[119] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946, pp. 46-47.

[120] Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1949, p. 34.

[121] Report of the Yu-Chung Synod for 1935', *op. cit.*

people became interested in China mission, the LBrM began to send missionaries to China in 1915 and chose the city Guide in the east of Henan as its mission base. Hence the church they built was called Yudong (eastern Henan) Lutheran Church.

In January 1916, Arthur Olson came to China and joined two missionaries who had already arrived a little earlier. After studying Chinese together for some time, they began working in both Guide and Suizhou.[122]

b. The Development

As the LBrM was small and conservative, and had arrived in China late, its growth was also relatively slow. In 1926, ten years after beginning its work, it had four districts in Guide (1916), Suizhou (1916), Tuocheng (1918) and Luyi (1920), four congregations and nine evangelism centres, one clinic, and 189 baptized members.[123]

By 1936, when Yudong celebrated its 20th anniversary, it had made obvious progress. It now had 16 congregations and seven evangelism centres in seven districts, 1,375 members including 456 communicants, 39 children and 870 catechumen, two lower primary schools and one higher primary school.[124]

Another ten years later, by 1946, even though Yudong had suffered a great deal during the eight years of war, it had made outstanding progress in spreading the gospel. By that year, in its four districts the number of congregations had increased to 21 and evangelism centres to 36, membership had increased to 3,466, namely 1,800 communicants, 421 children and 1,245 catechumen. It had four lower primary schools, two higher primary schools,

[122] Frederick Ditmanson, *In Foreign Field: Foreign Missions of the Lutheran Church, 1927*, XIV: 'Our China Mission', pp. 153-160.

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] Minutes of the Six General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1937. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

one junior middle school and one Bible school. Unfortunately, the hospital in Luyi had been burned down.[125]

The LBrM did not send a large number of missionaries to China, however, some of them were outstanding. Ralph Mortensen and Arthur Olson were two of them. Dr. Mortensen served as general secretary of the China Bible Society just before the Liberation, Rev. Olson served as LWF China Director in both Shanghai and Hong Kong.

Yudong Lutheran Church joined the LCC and became one of its synods in 1924.

8. Shaannan Synod

Shaannan Synod was established by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission, or NLF. It was the last Norwegian mission society to work in China.

a. The Beginnings

The NLF was a very small church founded in Arendal, Norway, in 1878. In those days, as the influence of both the Laymen's and the Moravian Movement was felt all over Norway, and as the government began to relax its control over religion, many people wanted to found new churches which would be 'evangelical' and 'free'. The NLF was very much interested in overseas mission, but since its membership was very small, it was not able at first to establish its own mission society but joined or supported other mission groups instead. In 1884, two of its members participated in the work of the China Inland Mission. In 1895 it contributed funds to support the NLM's work in China. In 1903, it paid the salary of one Chinese worker in the LBM,

[125] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946, pp. 53-54.

and from 1907 to 1914 it supported four Chinese workers in the NLM.[126]

It was not until 1916 that one of its members, Ole A. Sommernes, went to China. During his first five years as a missionary he worked alone. It was only in 1921 that the NLF finally decided to start its own mission in China, with Sommernes as its first missionary. It chose the seven counties in the south of Shaanxi province as its mission field and Ankang as the centre. Hence the church it built was called Shaannan (southern Shaanxi) Lutheran Church.

b. The Development

Since the resources of the NLF were limited and it came to China late, its development was limited as well. As it did not join the LCC until 1946, it was very difficult to find any information about it in the LCC's archives.

According to the information Shaannan presented when it applied for LCC membership in 1946, it had only three missionaries and six Chinese co-workers — fewer than any of the twelve LCC synods had. At that time also, it had four districts and four congregations, 360 communicants, one complete primary school, one Bible school and one hospital. Of course, this was right after the war, when the church was trying to rebuild from the ruins.[127]

The second and the last report which Shaannan presented to the LCC was in 1949, when China was taken over by the

[126] Sigurd Aske, *The South Shensi (Shaanxi) Lutheran Mission* (Hartford, Conn.: Hartford Seminary Foundation, Ph.D. thesis, 1951), pp. 26, 30, 56-58, 59-60.

[127] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the LCC', 1946, p. 48 and 'LCC Statistics' (in Chinese).

communists. Because of the civil war, the hospital had to close down, but the clinic remained open. The primary school and the four congregations (in Ankang, Wulipu, Hongkou and Hanyin) were fortunately able to continue.[128]

Although the NLF missionaries were few in number and conservative in attitude, they were very serious about their mission. Tidemann J. Johansen and Sigurd Aske, who served after the war as NLF chairman and vice-chairman respectively, were well known to the Chinese church. In the 1950s Johansen went to Taiwan to open a new field, while Aske served in various important capacities in the LWF, namely as director of the Department of World Mission (1967-1968) and as director of LWF Broadcasting Service, in the 1970s one of the largest Christian radio stations in the world.

Aske mentioned two problems in his PhD thesis about the NLF: the lack of funds, and the extreme shortage of Chinese co-workers. The NLF established a Bible school to train local workers only in 1945, i.e., 29 years after it had started its work. It was also then that the NLF established a local church.[129]

9. Xiangbei Synod

Xiangbei (northern Hunan) Synod was founded by the Church of Sweden Mission (SKM). Among the several Swedish mission societies which had worked in China, the SKM was the only one which joined the the LCC.

a. The Beginnings

The SKM was founded in Sweden in 1874. Its first mission fields were in Africa and India. It came to China in 1918 and chose northern Hunan, particularly the counties around the

[128] 'Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', 1949, pp. 38-39 (in Chinese).

[129] Aske, p. 269.

Dongting Lake as its mission field. Part of its work overlapped with that of the NMS, for example, they both had mission programmes in Changsha and Taohualun.

b. The Development

The SKM started its work shortly before the LCC was being established. It joined the LCC as a founding member in 1920. According to its report, although it had six missionaries and one evangelism centre at that time, it had no members yet.[130]

Xiangbei Lutheran Church developed rather slowly, particularly at first. It was one of the smallest in the LCC. In 1927, it had only two congregations, 47 members, including 27 communicants, nine children and 11 catechumen. However, by 1930, three years later, it had made distinct progress. By then it had three congregations and five evangelism centres, 130 members, including 60 communicants, 45 non-communicants and 25 catechumen.[131] It had also a college, the only Lutheran higher education institute in China.

In 1936, on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War, Xiangbei had one district, nine congregations and six evangelism centres, 437 members, including 230 communicants, 71 non-communicants and 36 catechumen.[132]

As Sweden had remained neutral during the war, the SKM was able to carry on its mission work in Xiangbei Synod, or at least it was able to do so better and more easily than its sister missions in that province, namely the NMS and the FMS. According to its 1946 report, Xiangbei had 14 congregations and

[130] Proceedings of the Church Council of the Lutheran Church of China', 1921, p. 104.

[131] 'Minutes of the Fourth General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1931. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[132] Minutes of the Sixth General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1937. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

three evangelism centres in five districts, 492 members, among them 274 communicants, 187 children and 37 catechumen.[133]

The SKM had great interest in education. When it just started its work, it expressed its strong intention to build a college. In 1923, it opened Lutheran College in Taohualun with K. B. Westman as president. Unfortunately, eight years later, the school closed. Reasons for the closing have already been briefly discussed here. Some people thought that if the SKM had beeen willing to accept the proposal to co-operate with other Lutheran missions, the college would most likely have been able to continue. In 1935, the SKM did co-operate with the NMS to open a senior middle school in the former college building. This school and two other NMS junior middle schools, the boys junior middle school (founded in 1906) and the girls junior middle school (founded in 1939), later formed a complete coeducational Lutheran Middle School.[134] It became one of the best Lutheran middle schools in China, and trained many talented students who went on to serve church and society.

Unfortunately, the SKM paid less attention training professional church leaders. It had not trained itself its most capable Chinese pastors, such as Liu Wuqi and Chen Xiangtao. It was not until 1953, four years after liberation, that its first student graduated from Lutheran Theological Seminary. This may have been one of the main reasons why Xiangbei Synod had developed so slowly.

C. THE NORTHERN CHINA AREA

In northern China, there were only two synods, Dongbei Synod and Ludong Synod.

[133] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China,1946 Cf,'LCC Statistics'

[134] Cheng Chugu,'A Study on Educational Policies of Xinagzhong Lutheran Church ' P.45 (Unpublished)

1. Dongbei Synod

Dongbei (northeast) Synod was first called Guandong (Pass-east) Synod because the provinces in which it worked were all located to the east of Shanhai Pass.

a. The Beginnings

Dongbei Lutheran Church was established by the Danish Lutheran Mission (DLM). The DLM had been founded in Denmark in 1821 and was one of the earliest Lutheran missionary societies.

As early as 1890, some DLM missionaries arrived in northeastern China but could not find a suitable place for their work. In 1896, they chose the coastal area there as their mission field. Among the first missionaries were Waidtlov, Viuff and Bolvig.[135]

b. The Development

Although Dongbei Lutheran Church suffered a great deal, first under Russian, then under Japanese occupation, it developed very fast. In 1928, it joined the LCC as one of its largest synods.

In 1896 the DLM established a mission base in Lyushun and then quickly opened several mission centres in other cities. By the end of 1905, it had five congregations: Lyushun (1896), Dagushan (1897), Xiuai (1898), Fenghuangcheng (1899) and Andong (1902). In 1898, it gained its first baptised member, by 1905, it had 119 members.[136]

[135] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946. 'The Lutheran Church in Northeast China' (in Chinese) .

[136] Tang, pp. 314-316.

When Dongbei joined the LCC in 1928, it already had 30 congregations in ten districts, 3,600 members, including 2,477 communicants, 1,099 non-communicants and 104 catechumen, three kindergartens, 26 lower primary schools, five higher primary schools, a middle school, a teacher-training school, and two Bible schools, two orphanages and another charitable institution, and three hospitals.[137]

When in 1937 the Sixth Assembly of the LCC was held, the whole of northeastern China had already fallen into Japanese hands. Since Dongbei Synod was not able to present a report for that year, a report from 1933 was used instead. By 1933, the number of congregations had increased to 66 and that of evangelism centres to 222, membership had increased to 7,474, including 5,809 communicants and 1,665 non-communicants. There were, however, fewer schools. It had one kindergarten, 17 lower primary schools, two middle schools, two seminaries, a vocational school and a short-course Bible school. There were still three hospitals.[138]

In 1946, when the Seventh LCC Assembly was held, Dongbei was not able to provide official statistics because most of its area had not yet been rehabilitated. The figures in the 1946 LCC statistics were only estimates. Dongbei was believed to have 95 congregations, 30 evangelism centres and 25,000 members in 1946.[139]

But there was another reason which made Dongbei unable to present official statistics at that time. Since 1941, all the churches in Guandong (east of the Pass) area had been forced to be united into one church. On 15 July that year, Manchuria's Japanese

[137] Proceedings of the Third General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1928. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[138] 'Minutes of the Six General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1937. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[139] Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

puppet emperor promulgated a decree ordering all Manchurians to worship the 'Tianzhao dasheng' (The Great Heavenly God) and all fifteen Christian denominations to become one church. As a result, on 15 September 1941, the so-called 'Manchurian Christian Church' was founded. Since then, the name 'Lutheran Church' disappeared and it was not heard again until 1945 when Japan surrendered.[140]

2. Ludong Synod

The history of Ludong (eastern Shangdong province) Synod was a little different from that of the other Lutheran churches in that it had its roots in two different mission bodies. At first it belonged to the Berlin Missionary Society (Bn or BMS), and later to the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA).

a. The Beginnings

At the end of the 19th century, China was forced to give Germany both Qingdao and Jiaozhou in Shandong as a leased territory for 99 years. The BMS, which had been working in Guangdong province (Yuegang Synod) for years, decided to start work in Shandong, on the one hand to take care of the spiritual needs of the German soldiers and civilians, and on the other to extend its mission to the Chinese people in Shandong. In 1898, the BMS sent a few veteran missionaries, among them namely John Voskamp and Adolph Kunze, from Guangdong to Qingdao. Besides ministering to the German military force and to civilians, they immediately and separately began mission work among the Chinese people. Voskamp went westward while Kunze moved toward the east.[141]

b. The Development

With the support of the German military and German civilians, the BMS's mission programme developed rapidly. Within ten

[140] *Ibid.* Cf.'The Lutheran Church in Northeastern China'.

[141] MacGillivray, pp. 487-488.

years, it established three major mission stations in three big cities: Qingdao (1898), Jimo (1901) and Jiaozhou (1908). It also founded a seminary in Jimo.[142]

After World War I, the BMS could no longer support Ludong Lutheran Church and in 1925 handed over the whole mission field to the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America.[143]

In 1928, Ludong Lutheran Church joined the LCC and became its Ludong Synod. At that time it had 35 congregations in three districts, 1,895 members, including 1,234 communicants, 413 non-communicants and 245 catechumen, 54 lower primary schools, eight higher primary schools, three middle schools and two Bible schools.[144]

Vigorously supported by the ULCA, Ludong Synod grew rapidly. During the next ten years, it built a coeducational middle school in Jimo, and a hospital and a Bible school for women in Qingdao. Were it not for to the disruptions of the war, the Bible school would most likely have developed into a united Lutheran women's seminary. By 1939 the church had 120 Chinese co-workers, including five ordained pastors, 70 congregations, 5,408 baptised members, 40 schools and a hospital.[145]

Shandong province became one of the first areas to be affected by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Churches, schools and hospitals in Qingdao, Jimo, Jiaozhou and other places were destroyed. Soon after the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, the Japanese put many American missionaries into concentration

[142] Tang, p. 293.

[143] *The Seven Nations: Twelve Mission Studies*. Published by the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1941, p. 30. It mentioned that the ULCA paid the BMS US$180,000 for all its property in Shangdong.

[144] Report of the Third General Assembly', 1928. Cf. 'LCC Statistics'.

[145] *The Seven Nations: Twelve Mission Studies*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

camps. Most of the Chinese church workers were forced to leave their jobs when mission support was discontinued. During both the Sino-Japanese War and the ensuing civil war, five Chinese church workers died for their faith. As all church records were lost, Ludong Synod was not able to provide statistics at the Seventh LCC Assembly in 1946.[146]

Ludong Synod had a number of outstanding missionaries and Chinese church leaders. Voskamp served the church for a total of 53 years (including 14 years under the BMS and Yuegang Synod in Guangdong province); in the 1950s, Paul P. Anspach and Charles H. Reinbrecht who arrived later made definite contributions to the launching of mission work in Hong Kong and Malaysia. Dr. Martin Yang, one of its prominent lay leaders was appointed to become president of the proposed Lutheran University. Unfortunately, because of the civil war, that ambitious and important project lost the chance of ever being carried out.

III. CONCLUDING REMARKS

When reviewing the 103 years' history of the Lutheran churches in mainland China (1847-1950), several things must be pointed out:

1. *The Lutheran church grew amidst great tribulations.* In those 103 years, the Chinese churches had very few peaceful days. The incessant natural and manmade calamities, frequent internal disorders and foreign invasions, as well as the ever increasing anti-religious and xenophobic movements, brought innumerable unexpected difficulties to spreading the gospel. And yet the gospel was spread in China.

2. *Co-operation was the key to the growth of the church.* The real growth of the Lutheran church in China only began in 1920 when the LCC was founded. With mutual care, support and

[146] 'Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Lutheran Church of China', 1946.

encouragement, the scope of its programmes expanded and the quality of its work improved. Without that co-operation, the Lutheran contributions in China, particularly those in theological education and literature, would have been fewer.

3. *It was wise to begin co-operation in the areas of theological education and literature.* In 1907, when Lutheran missionaries met to discuss Lutheran co-operation for the first time, they agreed that it should begin with theological education and literature. The next 30 years showed how correct and wise their decision had been. Without well trained indigenous leaders, no evangelistic, pastoral, educational and administrative work could have been carried out effectively; without proper literature for preaching, devotion, worship and studying, no church could have grown properly. The Lutheran Theological Seminary and the Lutheran Board of Publication were the two most important instruments for the growth of the Lutheran Church of China.

4. *Conservative pietism affected the further growth of the LCC.* Although the internal unity of the Lutheran churches made encouraging progress, they were hesitant when cooperation with other churches was asked for. In the area of religious education, for example, the LCC did not want to join the China Sunday School Union which had been founded by the conservative evangelicals in 1911, nor was it willing to take part in the National Council of Christian Religious Education created by the ecumenical mainline churches in 1931. Although a number of LCC leaders had been deeply involved in many of the programmes of the National Council of Churches (NCC) since its foundation in 1922, the LCC never became a NCC member because it had always been reluctant to approve its constitution. The main reason was that the LCC consisted of mission societies from different backgrounds; those with a deep conservative pietism did not want to have relations with non-Lutheran churches or organisations. This kind of closed-door attitude greatly hindered the further growth of the LCC.

5. *The timely help provided by the LWF speeded up rehabilitation and co-operation between the Lutheran churches.*

During the war and after, all German missions and most of the northern European missions, as well as their related Chinese churches, became the so-called 'orphaned missions' and 'orphaned churches'. Were it not for the generous assistance from the LWF, their reconstruction would have been much slower and much more difficult. Before the 1940s, some of the churches with a German background as well as some other conservative churches had very little to do with the churches having an American or Scandinavian background who were the chief Chinese Lutheran churches at that time. But the mutual understanding and cooperation between the various Lutheran churches in China was greatly speeded up after 1947 when the LWF became a sort of intermediary between them.

6. *Although the political scene in China was changing at the end of the 1940s, the work of the Lutheran churches among the Chinese people continued to bear fruit.* The contributions of the Lutheran churches in China before liberation were obvious to all. The number of congregations and members of Lutheran churches at that time was about 10 per cent of all Chinese churches. This was true also for the percentage of the schools, hospitals and other social service organisations. Although today there are no longer denominations in China, the contributions made by the Lutheran churches in church and society can still be felt in many of the places where they worked.

Furthermore, although the door for preaching the gospel in mainland China was closed to the Lutheran churches after 1950, at least temporarily, many Lutheran missionaries and Chinese Christians who had previously laboured on the mainland did not forget their mission task. They continued to witness for the Lord among the Chinese people in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and elsewhere in America and Europe. The fruits they reaped during the last 50 years or so have been as bountiful as those they reaped in China during the 100 years of their presence. The next chapter is an account of some of their experiences.

CHAPTER

2

THE CHINESE LUTHERAN CHURCHES OUTSIDE MAINLAND CHINA

Although the words 'Lutheran churches' have disappeared in mainland China at the beginning of the 1950s, they are well-known outside China. The 'Chinese Lutheran churches outside mainland China' are those in Hong Kong, Taiwan and in Chinese communities in Malaysia, Singapore, and those in the West, i.e., in North America, Europe and Australia. 'Chinese Lutheran churches' are churches which use the various Chinese dialects as their main language for preaching and teaching. Altogether there are sixteen such Chinese Lutheran churches in the whole of Southeast Asia, and more than fifty Chinese Lutheran congregations in the West.

All these Chinese Lutheran churches were established after 1950, shortly after China had been taken over by the Communists, except Chongzhen Church (Tsung Tsin Mission) and Lixiang Church (Rhenish Church) in Hong Kong, the Basel Christian Church of Malaysia, which had existed since the 19th century, and Daoyou Church (Christian Mission to Buddhists) which began in the 1920s.

The following is an account of the sixteen Chinese-speaking

Lutheran churches — the eight in Hong Kong, the six in Taiwan and the two in Malaysia and Singapore. The fifty or so Chinese Lutheran congregations in the West will also be briefly described.

I. HONG KONG

The Chinese Lutheran churches in Hong Kong are:

A. Tsung Tsin Mission, Hong Kong (TTM)
B. The Chinese Rhenish Church, Hong Kong Synod (CRC)
C. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong (ELCHK)
D. Hong Kong and Macau Lutheran Church (HKMLC)
E. Lutheran Church–Hong Kong Synod (LCHKS)
F. South Asian Lutheran Evangelical Mission (SALEM)
G. South Guangdong Lutheran Church (SGLC)
H. Daoyou Church or Christian Mission to Buddhists (CMB)

According to their historical, geographical and theological background, and their working targets, these eight churches can be divided into four groups.

The first group consists of Tsung Tsin Mission and the Chinese Rhenish Church. Not only are they the earliest Lutheran churches in Hong Kong, they are also the oldest of all the Chinese Lutheran churches. Their mission societies — Basel and Barmen — came from Germany (Basel's headquarters are, however, in Basel, Switzerland), their theological background is Lutheran as well as Reformed. This is because these societies were founded by mission-minded Christians from different backgrounds, namely from Lutheran and Reformed churches. Their missionaries as well came from both Lutheran and Reformed churches. Since most of the early missionaries sent to China by these two mission societies were Lutherans, and because the support they received was mostly from German Lutherans, the two churches they established in China defined themselves from the very beginning as Lutheran.

During and after the Sino-Japanese War, TTM, the CRC and their missionaries encountered serious financial difficulties when

mission support from Germany stopped. But with the timely and generous assistance from the Lutheran World Federation they were able to reconstruct rapidly. Since then, the relationship between these two churches and Lutheran churches at large has greatly improved. Not only did they join the Lutheran Church of China in 1949 as two of its synods, but in 1977 they also became members of the LWF.

The main difference between Tsung Tsin Mission and the Chinese Rhenish Church is to be found in their mission targets. From the very beginning, TTM has worked among the Hakka-speaking people while the CRC worked among the Cantonese-speaking people.

The second group consists of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong (ELCHK) and the Hong Kong and Macau Lutheran Church (HKMLC). They were the fruit of mission work among the refugees from mainland China around 1950. These two churches had started out as one church, but separated at the end of the 1960s. Their mission societies came from Scandinavia and America. They had all been active in mainland China and had been members of the Lutheran Church of China. Both churches have inherited the more orthodox Lutheran doctrines.

One of the major differences between these two churches is this: the ELCHK closely follows the Lutheran traditions in worship, liturgy, ordination, church systems, etc., while the HKMLC, influenced by the 'anti-tradition' spirit of the Norwegian free churches, pays little attention to liturgical worship and even less to ordination. (Although all their missionaries were theologically educated and properly commissioned, they were not recognised as clergymen in Norway because not officially ordained.)

The third group comprises the Lutheran Church–Hong Kong Synod and the South Asian Lutheran Evangelical Mission. The first was established in Hong Kong in the 1950s, the second in the 1960s; the mother church of the first is the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and of the second, the Wisconsin Evangelical

Lutheran Synod. Both these American churches have a German background. Together they organised the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference in 1872; it was dissolved in 1961 because of theological disagreements. Both churches represent the more conservative wing of Lutheranism in North America, particularly the second.

The fourth group includes South Guangdong (Yuenan) Lutheran Church and Christian Mission to Buddhists. These churches have special mission targets. The first mainly laboured among recovered lepers while the second was dedicated to bringing the gospel to Buddhist monks. Because of the political changes in China after liberation, and because evangelisation of Buddhist monks is no longer possible there, the second ceased to be a church in its own right. In recent years, CMB has defined itself as an organisation with the aim of studying Chinese religions and culture and of keeping up dialogue with school and lectures in the same.

The first five churches listed above have had close relations with each other, in spite of their different backgrounds. The following joint events and cooperative activities are worth mentioning.

* On 24 February 1952, TTM, the CRC and the ELCHK jointly established the Association of Lutheran Youth Fellowships.[1] One of the main tasks of this association was to plan and conduct the annual Lutheran Youth Summer Camps started in 1950. Unfortunately, this undertaking had to be stopped, as the number of young people grew so large that it became impossible to find places in crowded Hong Kong big enough for such joint youth programmes.[2]

[1] *Lutheran Bulletin*, vol. 10, Feb. 1952, p. 8 (in Chinese). On that day, Mr. Liao Xueren and Mr. Li Youren were elected chairman and vice-chairman respectively.

[2] In 1950-1956, an annual Lutheran Youth Summer Camp was held every year. In !950, 1952, 1954, and 1955 it was held in Zhixing Middle School, in 1951 in Stephan School, and in 1956 in Lingnan Middle School.

* On 27 November 1951, the Lutheran Church of China-Hong Kong Association was established, and Dr. Peng Fu, the former national president of the LCC was elected president. Today, TTM, the CRC, ELCHK, LCHKS and HKMLC are all members of the LCC-HKA. Three years before the LCC-HKA was founded, the co-workers of TTM, the CRC, ELCHK and CMB had already formed the Lutheran Co-workers Prayer Fellowship, and in spring 1955, this fellowship requested that the LCC-HKA take over all its activities. In 1996, the name of the LCC-HKA was changed to Hong Kong Lutheran Federation (HKLF).

* All five churches joined the Association of Hong Kong Lutheran Women Fellowships, organised on 8 November 1975.

* These five Lutheran churches, together with Lutheran churches in Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore, established the Lutheran Southeast Asia Christian Education Curriculum Committee in 1968. Supported by the LWF, it had the task of developing and publishing Chinese Christian education curriculum materials. The committee was dissolved in 1985.

* TTM, the CRC, ELCHK, and Taiwan Lutheran Church jointly founded the Lutheran Theological Seminary in 1977. In 1994, the HKMLC also became a member. The LCHKS and SGLC followed and became LTS associate members in 1997. Today's LTS is a successor to the one founded in Shekou, Hubei, in 1913.

* One after the other, the five above churches joined the LWF as members (although the LCHKS later withdrew its membership). All took part in the activities of the LWF's Asia Programme for the Advancement of Training and Study (APATS).

We will now briefly sketch the beginnings and development of each of these eight churches. Unless otherwise stated, the present or 1994 church membership figures for each church come from the statistics published in *Lutheran World Information*, January 1995. Figures for congregations, schools and social

service organisations, however, are based on information provided in the 1995 *Christian Watch Word and Church Directory*, published by Taosheng Publishing House, Hong Kong (figures referring largely to the situation in 1994).

A. TSUNG TSIN MISSION, HONG KONG (TTM)

1. The Beginnings

The Hong Kong TTM was one of the twenty-five districts of Chongzhen Church in China mentioned in the previous chapter. After the Liberation, as it was no longer able to work under its mother church, it began to do independent work.

TTM was founded by the Basel Mission. From the very beginning, when its first missionaries arrived in China in 1847, its mission work was among the Hakka-speaking people in Guangdong province, with Hong Kong as mission base. Hakka services began in Hong Kong on 9 February 1851, and on 13 April the first baptism took place.[3] In 1860, it built a residence house and a girls' school in Sai Ying Pun on Hong Kong Island. In 1867, Sai Ying Pun church was built and became the mission centre of the Basel Mission in China; it served also as guest house for missionaries traveling between China and Hong Kong. This church was the predecessor of today's Kou Yan church.[4]

But the first church of TTM in Hong Kong was the Shaukiwan Church built in 1862.[5] Its first church in Kowloon was located in the newly established Shamshuipo Tsung Tsin School in 1897.[6] In 1905, worship began at the Tsung Kiam Church in the New Territories.[7]

[3] *Hong Kong TTM 140th Anniversary Bulletin*, 1847-1987 (in Chinese), p. 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

Hong Kong TTM was the first district of Chongzhen Church to move toward self-support. In 1924, it changed its name from Basel Church to Tsung Tsin Church (Tsung Tsin Mission in English). Tsung Tsin in Cantonese, Chongzhen in Mandarin, means 'worshiping the truth'. In 1927, TTM declared itself fully independent,[8] and in order to stress its mission task kept the word 'mission' in its official English name; hence, Tsung Tsin Mission rather then Tsung Tsin Church.

By 1949, just before the Liberation, Hong Kong TTM had nine congregations and evangelism centres.[9]

In 1951, the ties of Hong Kong TTM with Chongzhen Church in China were officially severed.[10]

2. The Development

TTM is a church with a long history, and its growth has been steady and multifaceted.

a. Church Structure

In 1952, so as to meet the needs of the new political situation, TTM registered with the Hong Kong government, under a new constitution.

On 1 July 1957, TTM held its first assembly after the new registration.[11] The leading positions of the church were senior pastor and president. Senior pastors during the last more than forty years include the Revds Tsang Kwok-Ying, Chan Oi-Yan, Daniel Chow and Lo Cho-Ching; presidents — all of them male lay leaders — include Wong Sun-Man, Cheung Wai-Man and Sit Poon-Kit. In 1996, TMM passed a resolution to ordain women.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[11] *Ibid.*

b. Evangelism Outreach

In 1987, when TMM celebrated its 140th anniversary (including TMM in mainland China), it had 12 congregations and three evangelism centres, and 8,000 members.[12] By 1994, the number of congregations had increased to 17, while that of evangelism centres had decreased to one; church membership had decreased to 7,500.

c. Education

Like its mother church in China — the Chongzhen Church — TTM has been interested in education. In 1987, TTM had six secondary schools with 4,648 students, five elementary schools with 4,022 pupils, and three kindergartens with 544 children.[13] As of 1994, TTM had five secondary schools, four primary schools and four kindergartens.

d. Social Services

In 1987, TTM had four child care centres, one old people's home and one old people's centre.[14] In 1994, TTM had a total of nine social service agencies, namely six for children and one for youth, one for the aged, and one for the community at large.

e. Theological Education

Lok Yuk Seminary in Meixiang, Guangdong, was closed in 1952. But in 1955 it reopened in Hong Kong under the presidency of the Rev. Hong De-Yan. On suggestion of the Basel Missionary Society, the seminary merged with Chungchi Seminary in 1967, when Dr. Daniel Chow was president. In the twelve years from

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[14] *Ibid.*

1955 to 1967, Lok Yuk seminary had 19 graduates altogether, plus another 18 students.[15]

In 1977, under the leadership of Senior Pastor Tsang Kwok-Ying and President Wong Sun-Man, TTM, together with the CRC, ELCHK and Taiwan Lutheran Church, founded the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong.[16] During the 1980s, Dr. Yu Wai-Hong served as part-time lecturer at the LTS, and since 1996, Dr. Andrew Ng has been a full-time professor. Both Yu and Ng are veteran ministers of TTM.

f. Church Co-operation

On 18 January 1954, TTM became a founding member of the Hong Kong Christian Council (HKCC) under the umbrella of the Lutheran Church in Hong Kong. In 1956, it joined the HKCC as an independent member under its own name.[17] TTM was also a founding member of the Lutheran Church of China-Hong Kong Association in 1954. In 1974, it joined the LWF, and in 1977, it became a founding member of the Lutheran Theological Seminary.

B. THE CHINESE RHENISH CHURCH, HONG KONG SYNOD (CRC)

1. The Beginnings

Like TTM, the CRC began in 1847. The Hong Kong CRC was a district, or synod, of the Chinese Rhenish Church in mainland China. When after liberation, its ties with its mother church in China were cut, it continued to develop separately.

From the very beginning, the CRC worked among the Cantonese-speaking people. With the assistance of such Chinese

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 112-145.

[16] *Lutheran Theological Seminary 1994-1997 Catalogue*, p. 4.

[17] *Hong Kong Christian Council 40th Anniversary Bulletin*, p. 4.

Christians as, for instance, Wong Yuan-Shan and Li Qing-Biau, the first Rhenish missionaries went to Baoan and Dongwan (Genähr), and to Singhui and Jiangmen (Koster), to preach the gospel. In 1847, the CRC established its first church in Taiping. It founded its first church in Hong Kong in 1891 and in Kowloon in 1927.[18]

On the eve of the Liberation, the CRC had altogether six synods, namely five in China and one in Hong Kong.

2. The Development

Like TTM, the CRC is one of the oldest Chinese Lutheran churches. Historically, it was mainly Reformed and it fully accepted Lutheran doctrine as stipulated by the LWF. Since 1950, its work in Hong Kong has been developing quickly and steadily.

a. Church Structure

In 1950, as the Hong Kong CRC was no longer able to be in contact with the church in China, it registered as independent church with the Hong Kong government. On 1 June 1951, the independent Chinese Rhenish Church, Hong Kong Synod was officially established.[19]

Senior pastor and president are the church's leading positions. Successive senior pastors during the past years were the Revds Chan Yik-Kin, Martin Lee and Kinson Pong. Pastors and laymen who served as presidents were Cheung Ging-Yuen, Stephen Cheung, Lee Ge-Keen and Chan Kai-Yuen.

From time to time, the CRC appoints a general secretary, or executive secretary, to deal with church business. In the past, the

[18] 'A Brief History of the CRC–Hong Kong Synod' (in Chinese) — an appendix to the *CRC 135th Anniversary Bible*, published by Hong Kong Bible Society, 1982.

[19] *Ibid.*

Revds Stephen Cheung and Stephen Tsui both served as general secretary, and in 1996 Ms. Mary Chan was appointed executive secretary, the first woman to take on this important responsibility.

b. Evangelism Outreach

Since it became independent in 1951, the Hong Kong CRC launched an all-out evangelism programme. It established Wanchai Rhenish Church on Hong Kong Island in 1951, Taipo Rhenish Church in the New Territories in 1957, and Hunghom Rhenish Church in Kowloon in 1961. When the CRC celebrated its 135th anniversary in 1982, it had eighteen congregations altogether, viz. fourteen in Hong Kong and four overseas.

The CRC was the only Chinese Lutheran church to found churches abroad. It established one each in Taipei (1975), Toronto (1976), London and San Francisco (both in 1981). The one in Minneapolis was opened in later 1982 .[20]

In the mid-1980s, the CRC was confronted with a serious financial crisis and had to close all churches overseas.[21] But with the assistance from the Rhenish Mission and through the combined efforts of the whole church, the crisis was overcome within a few years.

In 1994, the CRC had sixteen congregations and 10,470 members in Hong Kong.

c. Education

In 1982, the CRC had six secondary schools, five primary schools and eight kindergartens.[22] Because of the financial crisis

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] In 1985, the church incurred a heavy debt of HK$70,000,000 due to an unsuccessful property investment. The necessary steps to meet the crisis were taken, namely to close down all overseas churches. By 1989, all debts were paid.

[22] 'A Brief History of the CRC–Hong Kong Synod'.

mentioned, it had to close down most of its schools at the end of the 1980s. In 1994, it had only one secondary school, one primary school and two kindergartens.

The Lutheran College was established in 1978, by a group of people from the various Lutheran churches, interested in higher education. The large financial support and the many staff persons that the CRC had given to the college before the financial crisis demonstrated the seriousness of the CRC's concern about education. The college had to close down in the early 1990s when this support ceased.

d. Social Services

Evangelism, education and charity have been the Chinese churches' three most efficient instruments in spreading the gospel, and this has been true of the CRC as well. In the past, in mainland China, the CRC had been heavily involved in providing social services. Many people still remember, for example, the CRC hospital in Guangzhou and the leprosarium in Shaotang.[23]

Already in 1963, the Hong Kong CRC began to provide some living space for the aged in Kwun Tong, which in 1966 became part of Wah Hong Hostel for the Elderly, the first establishment of this kind in Hong Kong. In 1964, the CRC set up a Social Service Department to carry out social service programmes. In 1975-1985, it established eight social service agencies.[24] And in spite of the financial crisis of the mid-1980s, it still had twelve social service agencies in 1994 (viz., six nursing centres, a kindergarten, a reading room, two centres and two hostels for the elderly) when its Social Service Department celebrated its 30th anniversary.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Hong Kong CRC Social Service Department 30th Anniversary Bulletin* (in Chinese), p. 8.

e. Theological Education

From the very beginning, the CRC had been taking education seriously, most of all theological education. It tried to establish various types of institutes for training church leaders, viz., a divinity school in 1848, a theological college in 1900, a girls' Bible school in 1908, and the Lutheran Bible Institute, which it founded jointly with Yuegan Lutheran Church (Berlin Mission) in 1933 in Guangzhou.[25] The lack of funding and personnel and the political unrest in China made the outcome of these efforts short-lived.

In 1977, under the leadership of Senior Pastor Chan Yi-Kin and President Stephen Cheung, the CRC, together with the ELCHK, TTM and Taiwan Lutheran Church, founded the Lutheran Theological Seminary. A number of its present ministers are LTS graduates. For several years, Dr. Lee Chee-Kong, one of its senior ministers and a well-known church historian, has been teaching Chinese church history as well as Hong Kong church history at the LTS.

f. Church Co-operation

Although the CRC is cautious toward the ecumenical movement, it has been eager to cooperate with other Lutheran churches. It was one of the founding members of the LCC-HKA in 1954 and has been actively involved in some of the LWF programmes since it joined the organisation in 1974.

C. THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF HONG KONG (ELCHK)

1. The Beginnings

The work of the ELCHK was begun by students and faculty of the former LTS, and by the many missionaries who had

[25] 'A Brief History of the CRC–Hong Kong Synod'.

laboured within the Lutheran Church of China during the first half of the 20th century. Therefore, historically, the ELCHK can be seen as the successor of the LCC.

On 1 December 1948, the former LTS moved from Shekou to Hong Kong, as the threat of civil war in China was increasing. At the invitation of Dr. Reichelt, the LTS found a home for six and a half years with the Christian Mission to Buddhists on Tao Fong Shan. In 1955, the LTS moved to its new campus in Pak Tin Village, Shatin.

After the war, the population of Hong Kong increased rapidly from 600,000 in 1945 to about two million in 1950, mostly because of the influx of refugees from mainland China. LTS students began evangelistic work among the refugees, guided by the many Lutheran missionaries evacuated from China.

In the pioneering years 1949-1954, these missionaries and students established fifteen congregations and evangelism centres with 2,203 believers. The first church was Tong Lo Wan Lutheran Church (predecessor of Living Spirit Lutheran Church) in Shatin in the New Territories, which began worship on 20 October 1949. On 28 May 1950, Whitsunday, it celebrated its first baptism service in the auditorium of CMB on Tao Fong Shan. Eight persons from two families received baptism that day, namely Mrs. Lee and her two children, and Mrs. Ho and her four children.

The first church in Kowloon was the Mandarin Union Lutheran Church (predecessor of Truth Lutheran Church). The first church on Hong Kong Island was Saukiwan Lutheran Church (predecessor of Faith Hope Lutheran Church). Ma On Shan Lutheran Church was the first church to have a specifically built building (predecessor of Yan Kwong Lutheran Church) in the New Territories in 1952. The ELCHK established its first primary school in Shatin in 1950, the predecessor of today's Shatin Wo Che Lutheran School.[26]

[26] *ELCHK 40th Anniversary Bulletin* (1954-94); cf. the related pages.

2. The Development

The development of the ELCHK was fast, particularly in the 1950s, faster than that of the other Lutheran Churches. The main reason was that from the very beginning the ELCHK attached great importance to leadership training and hence has now a large number of well-trained church workers.

a. Church Structure

On Saturday, 27 February 1954, the ELCHK was officially established on the hill of Tao Fong Shan. Sixty-four people took part in that historical celebration, including forty-eight delegates from fifteen congregations and evangelism centres. The others were representatives from various organisations, mission societies and the LWF. Eight mission societies either joined or supported this newly established church. Three of them at that time did not do evangelism work in Hong Kong.[27] One of the other five already had its own congregations; it withdrew from the new church in 1968, and ever since has been working independently in Hong Kong and Macau.[28] This desertion affected the growth of the ELCHK. In 1967, for example, it had had 42 congregations,

[27] ELCHK Inauguration Meeting Minutes, pp. 4-6; Wu Yuqui, *The Life, Work and the Formation of Theological Thought of Wu Ming-chieh*. M.Div. Thesis at LTS, 1992, p. 89.
Three northern European mission societies did not do evangelism work in Hong Kong at that time but were all supporting the ELCHK's leadership training programme by sending faculty to the LTS. The Norwegian Missionary Society started evangelism work in Tai Hang Tung in 1956; the Finnish Missionary Society in Yuen Long in 1969. Church of Sweden Mission never did any evangelism work in Hong Kong and its support to the LTS stopped at the end of the 1980s, but resumed in the fall of 1998.

[28] *ELCHK 40th Anniversary Bulletin*, p. 14.

12,748 members, 30 primary schools and four secondary schools. But by 1968, it had only 35 congregations, 10,252 members, 24 primary schools and three secondary schools.

The ELCHK is headed by a president. President and vice-president are elected at the annual assembly. At the first assembly Dr. Peng Fu was elected president, and missionary Herbert Zimmerman vice-president. In the forty years from 1954 to 1994, seven Chinese ministers were elected president. They were Peng Fu, Wu Ming-Chieh, Jiang Zhong-Yuan, Charles Guo, Paul Hu, Xie Yue-Han (John Tse) and Gai Yin-Kui (Koy Ying-Kwei). Dr. Wu served longer than anyone else. He was elected president eight times and served for a total of fifteen years between 1961 and 1981.[29] Between assemblies, the council, elected by the assembly, carries on church business.

On 2 October 1970, the ELCHK and its supporting mission bodies signed a historical document, namely the 'Ten-Year Self-Support Scheme' which was designed to enable the ELCHK to become self-supporting by 1980.[30] Fortunately, this goal was reached much earlier.

On 26 July 1989, Ms. Chan Sik-Moi was ordained, the first Chinese woman to become a pastor of the Lutheran churches in Hong Kong. By the end of 1997, the ELCHK already had sixteen women pastors, more than any other church in Hong Kong.

On 8 April 1996, the assembly elected Ms. Josephine Tso president, the first woman to head the ELCHK, as well as the first woman to become top leader of all mainline churches in Hong Kong.

[29] Wu Yuqui, p. 38.

[30] *ELCHK 40th Anniversary Bulletin,* p. 15.

b. Evangelism Outreach

In the fifteen years after its establishment, i.e., in 1954–1969, the ELCHK established sixteen new congregations and evangelism centres. For different reasons some churches were closed or later merged with others. In 1984, when the ELCHK celebrated its 30th anniversary, it had 31 congregations, seven evangelism centres and 12,541 members.[31]

As so many other churches in Hong Kong, the ELCHK congregations are mostly located in flats purchased in commercial buildings, or in schools it has built. There are, however, a few specially built church buildings, viz., the first, Yan Kwong Lutheran Church (Ma On Shan Church), and later Truth Lutheran Church, Life Lutheran Church, Living Spirit Lutheran Church, Tuen Mun Lutheran Church, Tsuen Wan Grace Lutheran Church and Diamond Lutheran Church.

Truth Lutheran Church, built in 1963, is regarded as one of the most beautiful churches in Hong Kong. Although its predecessor, Mandarin Union Church, typically had fewer than a hundred people at Sunday services, the building was designed to hold over one thousand. As an explanation of why the church had been built on such a big scale, the missionaries in charge of planning and fundraising argued that the new building would not only have to meet the needs of one small congregation, but also serve as central church for the whole of the ELCHK, and as worship centre for people of different languages and nationalities.

[31] Cf. related reports in *the ELCHK 30th Anniversary Bulletin (1954-84)* and ELCHK 1994 Statistics.

The first budget for the project (which included a school) was US$600,000. All but US$10,000 — a pledge from the congregation — came from the four supporting mission bodies in the USA, and from the proceeds of the sale of the airplane *St. Paul*.[32]

In 1946, when transportation systems in China were almost completely destroyed, funds from the Lutheran World Convention (LWC) enabled the purchase of the airplane *St. Paul* for ferrying missionaries who had returned from the war to their mission fields. As the civil war in China was developing rapidly, the *St. Paul* was also used to evacuate missionaries from mission fields to safety.

For the last thirty years or more, Truth Lutheran Church has not only served well as central church, but its membership has grown too. At present, it is the largest congregation in the ELCHK, with on average of 400 people attending worship every Sunday.

In its 1994 report, when the ELCHK celebrated its 40th anniversary, it had forty-three congregations, fifteen evangelism centres and 12,228 members. (Five small congregations were not mentioned in the report.) Compared with 1984, the number of congregations and evangelism centres had increased considerably, while that of members was at a standstill.

In early 1980, the ELCHK became a 'mission church'. That year, the ELCHK began taking part in a mission programme in Thailand, sponsored by the Norwegian Missionary Society and

[32] The dates given on p. 49 of *ELCHK 30th Anniversary Bulletin* about the building of Truth Lutheran Church are erroneous. According to the author's diary, the cornerstone was laid on Dec.16, 1961; the key-passing ceremony was on Feb. 12, 1963 and the dedication service was on April 13, 1963. Concerning fundraising of the building, cf. Carlberg, *The Changing China Scene*, p. 172, and CACC minutes and reports around 1960.

the Finnish Missionary Society. On 15 April 1988, Ms. Chan Wai-Ling was commissioned and sent to Thailand as the ELCHK's first overseas missionary. On 12 December 1997, a commissioning service was held for the Rev. and Mrs. Ian Cheung. They were sent to Germany at the beginning of 1998 to work among the Chinese as missionaries in Wittenberg and with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria . In April 1998, the ELCHK began to support the Chinese Lutheran Church in London, whose ministers were the Rev. Samual Lo and his wife Mary Wah. On 12 July, Rev. and Mrs. Ching-Wah Ip arrived in Bangkok from Hong Kong to fill the vacancy left by Ms. Chan Wai-Ling.

c. Education

During the first fifteen years in its history, i.e., between 1954-1969, the ELCHK established three secondary schools and 16 primary schools. Some of the primary schools were built on rooftops of tenements. These 'rooftop schools' were temporary establishments and in the 1970s were gradually closed down.

In 1974, when the ELCHK celebrated its 20th anniversary, it had three secondary schools, six primary schools, 14 kindergartens and 9,704 pupils altogether. Ten years later, in 1984, the number of schools was still the same.[33] In 1994, the ELCHK had 26 schools and 10,831 students, viz., three secondary schools with 3,510 students, ten primary schools with 5,296 pupils, and 13 kindergartens with 2,025 children.[34]

d. Social Services

Since the early 1950s, the ELCHK has actively taken part in the refugee relief programme of Lutheran World Service in Hong Kong. The programme not only improved the lives of many refugees but also helped bring many people to the church.

[33] Cf. Statistics in the Minutes of the ELCHK 20th Assembly (1974) and 30th Assembly (1984).

[34] A list of 'ELCHK Schools in 1994'.

But the ELCHK only began its own social service programme in 1976, with the creation of a Youth Centre in Shatin. In 1984, to mark its 30th anniversary, it built a centre and a hostel for the elderly in Tuen Mun.[35]

By 1994, the ELCHK had a total of 35 social service agencies, namely six nurseries, 12 youth centres, two old people's centres, one old people's hostel, ten community development project centres (including a centre and a hostel for the severely mentally retarded), a half-way house for drug abusers and three reading rooms and book stores. Some of these agencies, originally established and managed by Norwegian or Finnish missions, were handed over to the ELCHK later.

e. Theological Education

From the very beginning, the ELCHK attached great importance to leadership training. Its contribution to theological education during these years is obvious to all. Although the previous LTS did not officially become a theological education institute in its own right (it had been owned by the various mission bodies) until 1963, it has served the ELCHK well since 1948, when it was moved from mainland China to Hong Kong.

On 6 February 1953, the Lutheran Bible Institute (LBI) opened in Taipo to meet an urgent need for more evangelists. The Rev. Brede Mella of the Norwegian Lutheran Mission was called to be the first president. He was succeeded by the Rev. Anders Tangeraas of the Norwegian Missionary Society and then by Ms. Alice Anderson from Augustana Synod Mission. In 1968, when the Rev. Wu Ming-Chieh was the president, the LBI and the LTS merged.[36]

[35] *ELCHK 30th Anniversary Bulletin*, p. 74.

[36] *ELCHK 40th Anniversary Bulletin*, pp. 11, 15.

In 1971, the author was called to be LTS president, and the seminary entered a new era, the era of Chinese leadership. When he retired in 1994, he was succeeded by Dr. Lam Tak-Ho.

In 1977, in order to strengthen Lutheran cooperation and to improve the quality of Chinese theological education, the ELCHK resolutely closed down the former LTS and established a new LTS in cooperation with TTM, the CRC and Taiwan Lutheran Church. In 1994, the HKMLC became the fifth founding member of LTS. In 1996, the South Guangdong Lutheran Church or Lutheran Philip House, as well as the Lutheran Church–Hong Kong Synod joined the LTS as associate members.[37] The former became a member the following year.

On 29 November 1992, the LTS' new campus on Tao Fong Shan was inaugurated. This beautiful campus (building costs HK$73,000,000) not only shows the great contribution the Lutheran Churches made to theological education, but also reflects the strong confidence they had in Hong Kong's future after it would be handed over to China in 1997.

f. Literature Work

When in the early 1950s Christian literature from China no longer came to Hong Kong, the 11 Lutheran mission societies evacuated to Hong Kong from China decided to launch a literature programme of their own. On 3 May 1951, the Lutheran Literature Society (LLS) was founded. In January 1961, at the request of and in cooperation with Taiwan Lutheran Church, the ELCHK expanded the LLS to become Taosheng Publishing House. This co-operation ceased in 1982, also at the request of TLC, and Taosheng Hong Kong and Taosheng Taiwan began operating independently from each other.

[37] *LTS Catalogue, 1997-2000,* p. 8.

Taosheng is one of the oldest Chinese Christian publishing agencies outside mainland China. Its history can be traced back to 1913, when the first issue of *Xinyibao* (Lutheran Bulletin) was published by LTS faculty members. By the 1970s it had gained considerable fame among the Chinese Christian publishers in Southeast Asia. In the past forty and more years, Taosheng produced much good writing in theology, religious education, evangelism and spirituality. The *Good Tidings Sunday School Materials*, published by Taosheng in the 1960s, and the *Everybody Series, Lilly Series* and *Youth Series* in the 1970s, became the focus of attention of Chinese churches.[38]

g. Church Cooperation

Although the ELCHK, like many other Lutheran churches, has been cautious about political and social issues, it fully supports church cooperation, particularly between the Lutheran churches.The ELCHK was not only a founding member of the Hong Kong Christian Council and the LCC–HKA in 1954, it also became a member of the LWF in 1957 — the first Chinese Lutheran church to join that world organisation beside the LCC.

The ELCHK keeps close relations with other mainline churches and also takes part in activities of conservative evangelical churches. For example, President Wu Ming-Chieh served as chairman of the board of the Chinese Congress on World Evangelism (CCOWE) for many years.

D. HONG KONG-MACAU LUTHERAN CHURCH (HKMLC)

1. The Beginnings

In 1949, missionaries of the Norwegian Lutheran Mission

[38] For a more detailed account on Chinese Lutheran literature, cf. Andrew Hsiao, 'A Brief History of Chinese Lutheran Literature', *Theology and Life*, vols. 17-19, 1996.

(NLM), who had worked in Yu-eshaan Lutheran Church in mainland China, evacuated to Hong Kong. Some of them went on to Japan or Africa, but five of them decided to stay and preach the gospel to refugees. They were joined by the Rev. Liu Dao-Sheng, former president of Yu-eshaan Church, who after a visit to Norway was stranded in Hong Kong because of the sudden political change in China.[39]

At the beginning of 1950, missionary Knutsen and others started work among refugees in Hong Kong, first in Mount Davis and then in Rennie's Mill refugee camp, and the Rev. Liu worked in Taipo. Since it was a time of hopelessness for many people in Hong Kong, the work of the Good News developed very fast, particularly in Rennie's Mill. Soon a church and a primary school opened there. A secondary school was established in 1952.[40]

With the assistance of such LTS students as Jiang Wen-Hua and the author, the work in Taipo also developed fast. On 18 June 1950, Taipo Lutheran Church (predecessor of Grace Lutheran Church) celebrated its first baptism when two women accepted the Lord.[41] Unfortunately, the Rev. Liu had to leave for Taiwan in October 1952, called by the NLM to minister in a newly established church in Taibei.

[39] Du Sheng'en, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in the Republic of China: A Brief Story of the Work of the NLM in China Between 1891-1991* (in Chinese), p. 46.

[40] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[41] According to the author's diary, the Rev. Liu baptised Mrs. Yu and Mrs. Lo that evening, as they had to return to mainland China the next day. Nine people were present at the baptism service. Besides the Rev. and Mrs. Liu, Yu and Lo, there were two seminary students, Jiang and the author. The other three were not identified.

2. The Development

a. Church Structure

When the ELCHK was founded on 27 February 1954, the HKMLC was one of the founding churches, then called Yu-eshaan Lutheran Church. At the time, NLM missionary Mella served as president of the united Lutheran Bible Institute.

In 1960, Yu-eshaan Lutheran Church became the Norwegian Lutheran Mission (NLM).[42] Unfortunately, the NLM withdrew from the ELCHK in 1969 because of a disagreement over the ordination of pastors.[43]

In 1978, the NLM decided to hand over its operations gradually to a self-supporting local church. On 11 November the same year, the Hong Kong and Macau Lutheran Church was officially founded in Living Stone Lutheran Church, and missionary M. Espegren was elected president. However, the presidents who came after him were Chinese, namely the Revds Tsang Ming-Sun and Wu Chi-Long.

In 1981, the NLM handed over all church property to the HKMLC, and in 1986 also its schools and other establishments were handed over[44]. On 1 November 1985, the HKMLC signed a 'Contract of Cooperation' with the NLM which said that, beginning on 1 January 1986, the HKMLC would have the sole

[42] *HKMLC 15th Anniversary Bulletin, 1978-1993*, p. 4.

[43] Tsang Ming-sun, 'The HKMLC's Work in Hong Kong'; and *Good-Tidings Monthly*, vol. 104, Nov. 1968, p. 31. In 1968, the NLM asked that the ELCHK ordain three of its Chinese evangelists. The request was turned down on the grounds that two of the three candidates did not meet the academic qualifications set by the ELCHK. The ordination was carried out anyway, but by missionary Alfred Lien, the president of the NLM, on Oct. 12, 1968 in Kowloon Rhenish Church. In 1969, the NLM withdrew from the ELCHK.

[44] *HKMLC 15thAnniversary Bulletin, 1978-1993*, p. 6.

right to plan, promote, manage and direct all work formerly done by the NLM. Since then, the HKMLC has become entirely self-supporting and self-governing.[45]

On 23 February 1997, the HKMLC ordained its first female pastor, Ms. Yu Choi Kam, thus becoming the second Lutheran church in Hong Kong to ordain women.

b. Evangelism Outreach

Although the HKMLC is limited in human and financial resources, it is a church full of vitality; this was even more pronounced in the 1950s and 1960s. According to a 1975 report, it had six congregations, four evangelism centres and 1,750 members. By 1990, the number of its congregations had remained at six, but its evangelism centres had increased to eight, two in Macau and six in Hong Kong. Membership had increased to 2,080, viz., 1,640 adults and 440 children.[46] Later, foreshadowed by 1997, membership decreased somewhat. In 1994, for example, it had six congregations, seven evangelism centres and 2,143 members; in 1995, its membership dropped to 1,884, viz., 1,476 adults and 408 children, plus 33 catechumen.

The HKMLC has always promoted evangelism work, not only in Hong Kong, but also in Macau and mainland China. In 1969, the NLM launched a gospel radio programme for people in China, which ended a few years later due to lack of funds and personnel. In 1978, an evangelism outreach programme was launched in Macau.[47] Today, two of its seven evangelism centres are in Macau.

c. Educational Programmes

As mentioned before, the HKMLC built a primary school in Rennie's Mill refugee camp in 1950, and a secondary school there in 1951. From 1956 to 1965, it had a total of seven primary

[45] Du Sheng-en, p. 48.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

schools. Most of these rooftop schools were temporary and were later closed down one after another. In 1975, the church had one secondary school, three primary schools and six kindergartens. In 1994, the number of schools was the same, but that of kindergartens had decreased by two.[48]

d. Social Services

The HKMLC had built a rehabilitation centre in Hong Kong for drug abusers already in 1956. Closed down long ago, it opened the doors for the so-called 'gospel drug abstinence houses' in Hong Kong.[49] In 1978, a nursery was built in Cheung Ching Housing Estate, and in 1983 a centre for the elderly, believed to be the first such centre in Macau.[50] In 1992, the HKMLC had two centres for the elderly, a nursery and a study centre.

e. Theological Education

In 1953, in cooperation with other missions, the NLM established the Lutheran Bible Institute in Taipo. In 1974, i.e., five years after the HKMLC had separated from the ELCHK, it created an evening Bible school, LTS supplying the instructors. In 1985, it opened its own three-year full-time certificate Bible course, closed down two years later due to lack of students. Another evening Bible school opened later, closed down in 1991 because of the many problems it could not overcome.[51] Finally, in 1994, so as to preserve its Lutheran faith and to improve the educational standard of its leaders, the HKMLC joined the LTS and became its fifth founding member.

f. Church Cooperation

As the NLM is rather conservative, the HKMLC in the past had few contacts with other Lutheran churches. It only began to

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47, 48.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[50] *HKMLC 15th Anniversary Bulletin, 1978-1993*, pp. 44, 46.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 48. The evening school had only two students at that time.

open up to other churches when it had become self-governing. After joining the LCC–HKA and the LTS, it also became a member of the LWF in 1994.

E. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH–HONG KONG SYNOD (LCHKS)

The LCHKS was founded by the Missouri Evangelical Lutheran Mission for China (MELMC), an organisation of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in the USA, founded in 1912. The MELMC had worked in mainland China already before the Liberation.

In 1913, its first missionary, E. L. Arndt, began work in Hankou, Hubei province. At the beginning, he stayed at the Lutheran Theological Seminary and had close ties to other Lutheran missionaries. As a representative of the MELMC, Arndt attended the meetings of the Temporary Council of the Lutheran Church of China, established in 1915 for forming the LCC, a united Lutheran church in China.

The church Arndt had founded adopted the name Xinyihui (Faith-Righteousness Church). Like many other Lutheran churches it never became a member of the LCC. In July 1923, when the MELMC celebrated its 10th anniversary in China, it decided to change its Chinese name from Xinyihui to 'Fuyindao Ludehui', meaning 'Gospel Doctrine Luther Church'. Some of its missionaries felt that some of the churches in the LCC had deviated from Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, while others believed that the Chinese words 'fuyindao' (gospel doctrine) came closest to the original meaning of the English word 'evangelical'.[52]

[52] Richard H. Meyerm. The Missouri Evangelical Lutheran Church Mission, 1913-48,M.A. thesis, Washington University. ST.Louis,1948. Pp2,8-9. This thesis introduces in detail the beginning and development of MELCM in China. Besides, the minutes of 1915 meetings of the Temporary Council of the Lutheran Church on China recorded the presence and speeches of Amdt.

1. The Beginnings

On 29 November 1949, four MELCM missionaries came from Chengdu, Sichuan, to Hong Kong and, seeing the great need of the refugees, they decided to stay. The church they founded is now the Lutheran Church–Hong Kong Synod.

In February 1950, they began working among the refugees in Mount Davis. In June that year, they followed the refugees when these were moved to Rennie's Mill refugee camp, and built a church and two schools there. The first school they built, Concordia Bible School, was inaugurated on 18 August 1950.

The hard work of missionaries and Bible school students made the LCHKS grow fast. Churches were implanted in Kowloon, on Hong Kong Island, in the New Territories and Macau.[53]

2. The Development

The LCHKS has developed many areas, particularly education and social services.

a. Church Structure

Like the MELCM church in mainland China, the LCHKS first called itself Hong Kong Fuyindao Ludehui, i.e., Hong Kong Gospel Doctrine Luther Church. However, in the mid-1970s, the LCHKS, affected by the split of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in the USA, also split up. But after a few years of mediation by various groups, the division finally came to an end, and in 1974, the church adopted its present name, LCHKS, or in Chinese, Hong Kong Luther Church.

The church is headed by a president. Presidents were, since the 1970s, the Revds Andrew Chiu, Titus Lee, Benjamin Chung, Dante Yoong and Allan Yeong.

[53] Lutheran Church-Hong Kong Synod *40th* Anniversary Bulletin,1949-89. P.72

b. Evangelism Outreach

The LCHKS conducted its first Sunday service on 26 March 1950 in Xiangjiang Middle School in Kowloon. Its first baptism service was celebrated on 11 June. On 15 October the dedication of Salvation Lutheran Church in Kowloon took place, and in January 1952 an evangelism centre in Macau was opened. On 2 November the same year, Grace Lutheran Church on Hong Kong Island was dedicated.[54]

In 1991, a cooperative mission plan between the LCHKS and the Lutheran Church in Australia had the Rev. Mark Lai go to Australia where he began to do mission work among the Chinese-speaking people in Doncaster.

In 1994, the LCHKS had 36 congregations — two of which in Macau — two evangelism centres and 8,100 members.

c. Educational Programmes

Like its mother church in the USA, the LCHKS attached great importance to education. It runs more schools than any other Lutheran church in Hong Kong, and therefore has one of the largest school systems of all Hong Kong churches.

Its first day school, Concordia Primary School, was established in September 1951 in Rennie's Mill refugee camp. Two years later, it opened Concordia Lutheran (Middle) School in Kowloon and in 1956, a primary school in Macau. In the 1950s and 1960s the LCHKS opened a number of temporary schools on tenement building rooftops to meet the urgent need for schools. In the 1970s, while the rooftop schools were closed down one after the other, it established several permanent middle schools, and in the 1980s, a number of kindergartens. Several evening schools

[54] *Ibid.*

for the deaf were created in the 1960s. The well-known Lutheran School for the Deaf in Kowloon was founded in 1968.[55]

At the end of the 1970s, as the LCHKS went from being self-reliant to becoming government- subsidized, its financial burden for education greatly decreased. At the same time, as schools no longer had the right to impose religious education, the number of students who became Christians decreased.[56]

In 1994, the LCHKS had 12 middle schools, 11 primary schools, 17 kindergartens and two special schools for deaf children.

d. Social Services

The LCHKS has been very active in social service from the very beginning. Already in 1968, it set up social service centres in the Wong Tai Sin area, one for the blind, one for youth and one for the elderly. In 1977, it created a Social Service Department to coordinate all programmes and projects. The Martha Boss Lutheran Community Centre, dedicated in 1985, has become the headquarters of all its social service work. Since July 1986, the LCHKS has been receiving government subsidies towards further developing its social service programmes.[57]

In 1994, the LCHKS had a total of 27 social service agencies, namely six nurseries, six youth centres, nine centres and hostels for the elderly, a centre for the blind, two community service centres and two other centres.

e. Theological Education

The comparatively rapid development of the LCHKS may be attributed to the emphasis it has given from the very beginning

[55] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35, 56.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

to theological education. In 1950, it opened a two-year course Bible school in Rennie's Mill, and in 1954 added a refresher course programme to provide more advanced studies for church workers who had already completed Bible school. In 1956, this school was closed down, and the refresher course was further developed to become a seminary. The same year, a teachers' training class was opened, which later became the teachers' training department of the seminary. In 1972, the department's first class graduated.[58] The LCHKS thus became the first and only church in Hong Kong to provide formal teacher training for its schools.

After Dr. Manfred Berndt was appointed president of Concordia Seminary in 1972, he vigorously promoted so-called non-traditional theological education, whereby students worked during the day and studied in the evening. Student enrolment increased rapidly in the following years, but most of the students came from other churches. In 1977, Dr. Andrew Chiu succeeded Berndt as president. Because the non-traditional programme alone could no longer meet the need of the church, in 1980, a whole-day traditional programme was added.

In 1988, Concordia Seminary's accreditation was revoked because its standards, particularly that of its faculty, had fallen below those required by the Association for Theological Education in South East Asia (ATESEA).[59] Although this unfortunate incident brought a serious blow to Concordia's

[58] *Hong Kong Concordia Seminary 30th Anniversary Bulletin, 1956-1986*, pp.12-13.

[59] *LCHKS 40th Anniversary Bulletin*, p. 93. On 15 July 1988, a joint meeting of the church's Executive Committee and the seminary's Board of Directors discussed the accusations some people had brought against Dr. Chu, and decided to suspend him as president. This development brought to an end the faculty exchange programme which had existed between Concordia and LTS for some years. This was the main reason for the faculty crisis at Concordia.

development, it did not change the church's determination to promote theological education. Besides continuing to use Concordia as a basic leadership training centre, the LCHKS uses Lutheran Theological Seminary for its advanced ministry formation.

In 1996, the LCHKS joined LTS as an associate member.

f. Communication

Although the LCHKS did not establish its Literature Department until 1962, its missionaries had published some simple and crude Sunday School materials as early as 1950 (a translation of 'Life of Christ', published by Concordia Publishing House in the USA). In the 1970s, the Literature Department produced Bible Lesson Materials for primary and secondary schools. Some theological books were published in the 1980s.[60]

The LCHKS started a gospel broadcasting programme on Lutheran Hour in the 1950s. Although the broadcast was later discontinued, its contributions in bringing people to Christ have not been forgotten.

g. Church Co-operation

The LCHKS mother church, the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS) is a more conservative church. It is neither a member of the WCC nor of the LWF. Nevertheless, some of its offshoots in the Third World, such as the Lutheran churches in Korea, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea, joined the LWF. The LCHKS did join the LWF in 1979, but withdrew its membership in 1989 after finding it could not accept the LWF's constitution which proclaims that members are united in pulpit

[60] *LCHKS 40th Anniversary Bulletin, 1949-1989*, p. 71.

and altar fellowship. Thus, the LCHKS became the first church to withdraw its membership from this Lutheran world organisation.[61]

In the 1950s and 1960s, the LCHKS had little contact with other Lutheran churches in Hong Kong. But in 1968, Concordia Seminary and LTS jointly opened a pre-seminary programme. Although this was discontinued after two years, it had opened the door for cooperation between the LCHKS and other Lutheran churches. It joined the Hong Kong Lutheran Women's Association in 1975 and became a member of the LCC–HKA in 1977.[62]

In the 1970s, the LCHKS enthusiastically took part in discussions to establish a joint Lutheran theological seminary together with the the ELCHK, TTM and the CRC. But due to objections from its mother church in the USA, it decided to withdraw from the proposed cooperation in 1976, just a few days before signing the 'Agreement to Establish a United Lutheran Theological Seminary'.[63]

F. SOUTH ASIAN LUTHERAN EVANGELICAL MISSION (SALEM)

SALEM was founded in 1977 by the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS) in the USA.

1. The Beginnings

The beginnings of SALEM are like a legend. In 1950, a youth by the name of Peter Zhang arrived in Hong Kong as a refugee from China. One day, after reading a gospel tract, Zhang became

[61] The LWF greatly emphasises the spirit of 'communion', and member churches are required to share in pulpit and altar fellowship.

[62] *LCHKS 40th Anniversary Bulletin,* pp. 84-85.

[63] Andrew Hsiao 'A Chronological History of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1913-1993', *Theology & Life,* No. 15-16, 1993, p. 2.

so inspired that he not only wanted to become a Christian right away, but also decided to be a pastor. In the following fourteen years Zhang founded three congregations. Later, he went to the USA and studied in a seminary of the WELS. As soon as he had finished his studies he returned to Hong Kong and founded what was then called the Chinese Evangelical Lutheran Church (CELC). In response to a request by this church, the WELS sent missionaries to Hong Kong to assist it in evangelism work and leadership training. Besides several congregations, a seminary and three rooftop schools, the CELC also launched a gospel radio programme beamed toward Taiwan and mainland China.

The Rev. Zhang left Hong Kong a few years later, emigrating to the USA to become a businessman. Without their leader and shepherd, the CELC soon disintegrated. The few adherents who remained appealed to the WELS for help. In 1977, the WELS took over the work of the CELC and established a new church, the SALEM.[64]

2. The Development

Under a completely new leadership and management, the SALEM developed steadily. In 1977, it had only two congregations and 50 members. But by 1993, when it celebrated its 15th anniversary, it had eight congregations, a high school, a continuation school, five reading centres and 500 members.

Both the SALEM seminary and Bible institute were established in 1984 as training centres for leaders and members. According to a 1993 report the seminary had 12 students, while the Bible institute had more than one hundred students.

As its mother church in the USA represents the extreme wing of Lutheran conservatism in America, the SALEM has had very

[64] Cf. *SALEM 15th Anniversary Bulletin*; Theodore Bachmann, *Lutheran Churches in the World: A Handbook,* 1989, p. 169; Lutheran Church Directories in the 1970s, published by Taosheng Publishing House.

few, if any, contacts with other Lutheran churches in Hong Kong. However, in recent years, some of its coworkers have attended Lutheran Theological Seminary for further studies. The SALEM seems to be opening up gradually.

G. THE SOUTH GUANGDONG LUTHERAN CHURCH (SGLC)

1. The Beginnings

The South Guangdong Lutheran Church, also called Lutheran Philip House Church, is a successor of Yuenan Synod of the LCC in China. Its supporting mission, North Elbian Mission Centre or NMZ (formerly Breklum Mission) is in Germany.

After the so-called 'May refugee tide' in 1962, when many thousands of refugees poured into Hong Kong from China, the Rev. Leung Sin-Sang, a member of the former Yuenan Synod, was called by the German mission to start work in Hong Kong. His immediate task was to take care of the refugees from Hepu, one of the districts of the former Yuenan Synod in Guangdong.

In 1975, shortly after the refugee ministry was over, the leprosarium on Heiling Island was closed. As many of the recovered lepers needed spiritual care, the Rev. Leung, once a chaplain in that leprosarium, responded immediately. Thus the SGLC became the first and only church in Hong Kong to provide ministry to recovered lepers.

2. The Development

Because quite a few of its members are lepers who, although completely recovered, are not yet fully accepted by society, the Lutheran Philip House Church has had very little contact with other churches. However, under the faithful and silent ministry of Pastor Leung, the church has developed steadily and has expanded its membership. A number of blind Christians have recently joined this church. The church now has five congregations, four nurseries, a pastor, an evangelist and about 300 members.

In recent years, encouraged and supported by the German mission, the SGLC has actively involved itself in theological education. In 1996, it became an associate member of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, and a full member the following year.[65]

H. CHRISTIAN MISSION TO BUDDHISTS (CMB)

CMB is now basically an organisation rather than a church. But as it started out as a mission which later became a church (a member church of the LCC), and still carries on some congregational ministry, it is proper that it be treated here as a part of the Hong Kong Lutheran church community.

1. The Beginnings

CMB was the former LCC Daoyou Synod, introduced in Chapter one. It was founded by Dr. Karl Reichelt on 1 November 1922 in Nanjing, as a mission church aimed at bringing the gospel to Buddhist monks. In 1927, its Nanjing headquarters were burnt down during a political riot. On the eve of 1930, Reichelt came to Hong Kong and in 1936 built a beautiful Christian monastery on Tao Fong Shan. Although the influx of monks from China to Hong Kong totally stopped after 1950, CMB did not give up its mission. In the last fifty years, led by Reichelt's faithful colleague, the Rev. Notto N. Thelle (1901-1990), by Reichelt's son, the Rev. Gerhard Reichelt (1906-1997), by his Chinese students, the Revds C. C. Wang (1908-1996), Tsai Tao-Tang (1920-) and many others, CMB continued to serve the Chinese people in Hong Kong and elsewhere in Southeast Asia according to the objectives set by its founder, Karl Reichelt.

2. The Development

Although mission work among monks and nuns has ended, CMB continues to carry on various projects related to religious

[65] According to a telephone conversation with Pastor Leung on 18 Nov. 1995, and the Minutes of the LTS Board Annual Meeting of 7 June 1997.

studies, e.g., dialogue with Chinese religious groups, interchange between Christianity and Chinese culture, and research on new religions. Its publications include *Jingfeng Quarterly*, *Areopagus* (quarterly, in English), *Chinese Theology Quarterly* and *Christian Thoughts Series,* all of good quality. Its contributions to the interchange between Christianity and Chinese culture, as well as its studies on modern religions, are well recognised.

In order to strengthen Chinese studies on Christianity and to respond to the new situation after Hong Kong's return to China, CMB has recently founded the Institute of Sino-Christian Studies. Under the leadership of Dr. Liu Xiao-Feng, this institute is devoted to introducing Western theological works to the Chinese church and society.

The beautiful and quiet environment of Tao Fong Shan, and the unique architecture of its buildings have made CMB one of the most popular retreat centres in Hong Kong. All year round, many local and international groups come to Tao Fong Shan for various activities. Every year the CMB itself conducts a number of programmes for study or spirituality. The Ascension House, a small guest house, provides inexpensive but comfortable rooms for backpack travellers from the West.

In 1987, when the Rev. Ernst Harbakk was superintendent, CMB gave seven acres of land on the hill to the Lutheran Theological Seminary for building a new campus. This generous gift may be interpreted as a further fulfilment of Reichelt's vision, who had taken part in the founding of the LTS in 1913.

The Society for Religion and Culture (the former House of Friendship), established many years ago to promote dialogue with other religions, carries on its activities as usual. The Chinese porcelain-painting workshop, set up in 1948 to enable converted monks to make a living, has developed into a large-scale Christian art centre. The hostels for the elderly, purchased for aged church members and retired coworkers, are still in operation. The Tao Fong Shan Lutheran Church, established by CMB for the nurture of its members, is now a congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran

Church of Hong Kong, and the Rev. Peter Chan its pastor. The church building, which imitates the Heavenly Altar in Beijing, was erected in 1934 by Danish architect Johannes Prip-Moller; it represents the oldest and most unique architectural feature in the ELCHK.

CMB was headed by a superintendent elected by the board. All who served as superintendents after Reichelt's death came from the Scandinavian countries, viz., Notto Normann Thelle, Gerhard M. Reichelt, Stig Hannertz, Sverre Holth, Daniel Nelson, Holger Bennetsson, Johan Olsson, Gunnar Sjohom, Erik Kvan, Ernst Harbakk and Rolv Olsen. C. C. Wang, Tsai Tao-Tang and Bishop Pan were the only three Chinese who served as superintendent or rector for short periods, on an interim basis.

As of 1 January 1997, the title superintendent was changed to president. Superintendent Rolv Olsen became the first president. In August 1998, Dr. Philip Chia, a Chinese theologian from Malaysia, was appointed president. He was the first Chinese to hold this leading position. It is expected that CMB will gradually become a self-governing and self-supporting Christian organisation with a distinctive mission.

According to the 1996 LWF statistics, the Lutheran churches in Hong Kong have a total of 156 congregations and evangelism centres, and 44,000 members.[66] According to the 1997 *Directory of Chinese Lutheran Churches* published by Taosheng Publishing House, these same churches operated a total of 87 schools, namely 39 kindergartens, 27 primary schools, 20 middle schools and one special school. They also operated two bookstores and a total of 106 social service agencies, including 26 for children, 19 for youth, 27 for the elderly, 20 for the community, and 11 others, namely those for deaf children and drug abusers.[67]

[66] *LWI*, January 1997.

[67] Cf. Appendix II: Lutheran Churches in Hong Kong.

In terms of membership and programmes, the Lutheran Church is one of the largest Protestant denominations in Hong Kong.

II. TAIWAN

There are six Lutheran churches in Taiwan:

A. Taiwan Lutheran Church (TLC)
B. The Lutheran Church of the Republic of China (LCROC)
C. The Chinese Lutheran Brethren Church (CLBC)
D. The China Evangelical Lutheran Church (CELC)
E. The China Lutheran Gospel Church (CLGC)
F. The Lutheran Church of Taiwan (LCT)

The six above churches were established by Lutheran mission societies having worked in mainland China. With the exception of the CELC, all these mission bodies, together with the churches they had founded in mainland China, joined the Lutheran Church of China between 1920 and 1949.

These mission societies began working in Taiwan in the 1950s. Their first mission targets were the two million soldiers and civilians who had fled China along with the Nationalist government shortly before 1950. But gradually they expanded their work to include local people.

In 1979, encouraged and supported by the LWF, the above churches established the Chinese Lutheran Churches' Association in Taiwan.

In 1960, 1984 and 1995, TLC, the LCT and LCROC became members of the LWF respectively. As of 1975 all six churches took part in the LWF-supported APATS activities.

On 31 October 1989, all but the CELC signed the 'Agreement to Build an Expanded Chinese Lutheran Theological Seminary'. On 18 June 1995, all six churches, including the CELC, signed the 'Agreement to Continue Supporting the Chinese Lutheran

Theological Seminary'. This was a big step forward in the cooperation of the Lutheran churches in Taiwan in the area of theological education.

Below is a description of the beginnings and the development of each of the six churches.

A. TAIWAN LUTHERAN CHURCH (TLC)

1. The Beginnings

The beginnings of Taiwan Lutheran Church were similar to those of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong. Like the ELCHK, TLC was the fruit of several mission societies which had before worked in mainland China. Its work began in Gaoxiong and Taibei, then gradually expanded to Taizhong, Xinzhu, Miaoli, Jiayi and Tainan.

In April 1950, Mr. Chin Chung-An, a medical doctor from Xi-an, conducted family meetings in his residence in Gaoxiong. This was regarded as the beginning of the work of TLC. On 3 June 1951, Gaoxiong church was established, and 59 people were baptised. This church, today called Qianzhen Lutheran Church, was the first congregation of TLC.[68]

Also in 1950, two Norwegian women missionaries, Helga Waabeno and Gertrude Fitje, who had worked in Makai Hospital as nurses, started a Bible study class at their residence in Taibei. A year later, the Bible class was taken over by Ms. Lenorah Erickson, an American missionary. In 1952, this Bible class became the first congregation of the TCL in Taibei and is now called Salvation Lutheran Church.[69]

As mission work was growing fast over the next two or three years, TLC was established in 1954.

[68] *TLC 40th Anniversary Bulletin,* 1954-1994, pp. 45-46.

[69] *Ibid*

2. The Development

As TLC had more human and financial resources than any other Lutheran church in Taiwan, it grew faster as well.

a. Church Structure

On 1 November 1954, TLC was officially established in Salvation Lutheran Church in Taibei. Thirty-two delegates attended the events, including 15 lay leaders, seven missionary pastors, two lady missionaries, five Chinese pastors and three Chinese evangelists. This new church had 13 congregations altogether, and more than ten evangelism centres, a Bible school, a literature centre and a communication centre and over 2,000 members. Seven mission societies, which had previously been active in mainland China and had established seven of the 16 LCC synods there, took part in this union church. The seven former synods were: Yuzhong, Yu-e, Yudong, Yuxi, Yu-eshaan, Xiangzhong and Dongbei. The Rev. Tu Chang-Wu of Yuxi Synod was elected president, and Arne Sovik of Yu-e Synod, an American missionary, was elected vice-president .

In the next forty years, a succession of Chinese ministers served as president of TLC: Stanley Tung, Peter Chow, Chin Chung-An, Chang Chi-Tang, Liu Hsing-Yi, Li Chang-Yin, Thomas Yu and Chuang Tung-Chieh.[70]

On 24 February 1997, TLC approved a motion to ordain women.The first woman, Xie Feng-Qing, was ordained on 31 January 1999.

The two years that followed the establishment of TLC saw the withdrawal of two mission societies, namely Yuxi and Yu-eshaan, together with their five congregations. They set up their own churches, the CLBC and the LCROC respectively, and continued to work in Taiwan.[71]

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[71] *Ibid.*

b. Evangelism Outreach

As TLC had many programmes, it developed fast, particularly in the 1950s. According to its 25th anniversary report in 1979, it had 35 congregations, of which 17 had been established in the 1950s, eight in the 1960s and ten in the 1970s. It had ten evangelism centres.[72] A total of 43 churches were listed in its 40th anniversary bulletin, namely 37 congregations and six evangelism centres. It showed that there was no significant change in the number of its congregations and evangelism centres between 1980-1994.[73]

Like in some other Chinese churches, TLC membership has decreased in recent years. It had 6,300 members in 1978, 6,500 in 1990 and 5,473 in 1994.

c. Educational Programmes

As education in Taiwan is the responsibility of the government, churches have little to do with schools, except at the kindergarten level. This goes for TLC as well.

But TLC has shown great interest in the evangelisation of, and ministry and service to, students, particularly college students. A first student centre/hostel was established in Taibei in 1954, a second in Tainan in 1957, and a third in Taizhong in 1981. The many positive contributions these centres made to TLC as well as to other churches over the years have earned them the title of 'the three bright stars' of TLC.

d. Social Services

In Taiwan, social services are the responsibility of the government. Unlike the churches in Hong Kong, the churches in

[72] *TLC 25th Anniversary Bulletin*, pp. 29-40, 17.

[73] *TLC 40th Anniversary Bulletin*, p. 131.

Taiwan do not have to spend large sums or human resources on social services. Medical work is the exception, though.

In 1961, Dr. Marcy Ditmanson, an American medical missionary of the Lutheran Free Church, established a clinic in Jiayi. In 1967, the Rev. Everett Savage, an American missionary of the Lutheran Church in America established a clinic in Gaoxiong. Both clinics later became hospitals. Jiayi Christian Hospital, with 500 beds, now serves as a regional teaching hospital.[74]

e. Theological Education

Continuing the tradition inherited from the LCC of stressing theological education, TLC attached great importance to leadership training from the very beginning. On 26 October 1952, a Bible school was opened in Gaoxiong with the Rev. H. W. Bly as principal. In the fall of 1957, in co-operation with other Lutheran missions and churches, Lutheran Theological Seminary in Taibei was established and Dr. Russell Nelson became its president. In the beginning of 1960, the LTS moved to a new campus in Taizhong. Unfortunately, in the middle of the 1960s, both TLC and LTS experienced serious internal crises. The many conflicts between some of the Chinese and Western faculty members, and the many disagreements between church and the mission caused the expatriates to leave, one after another. Student enrolment dropped fast and financial support decreased to nearly zero. As a result, the Bible school had to close in 1965, and the seminary in 1966.[75]

Over the next twenty years and more, TLC tried in various ways to give training to its leaders. It opened, for instance, a theology class with the CELC, it offered special study programmes in Tainan Theological Seminary and Tunghai

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 73-81.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

University, it took part in establishing a united Lutheran seminary together with Lutheran churches in Hong Kong, it sponsored students to study at China Evangelical Seminary, and so on. Differences in church traditions, conflicts in political outlook, or simply questions of geographical distance made it almost impossible for these efforts to fulfil their purpose.

Finally, on Reformation Day in 1989, TLC signed an agreement with other Lutheran churches in Taiwan to support the expanded China Lutheran Theological Seminary. Dr. Thomas Yu, a former president of TLC, was called to serve as its president. This historical event marked a new beginning for theological education not only in TLC, but in all Lutheran churches in Taiwan.[76]

f. Communication

The efforts of TLC in communication are well known in Taiwan. Already in 1955, some of its missionaries started broadcasting an English Bible study course, both in Taibei and Gaoxiong. This course was the beginning of TLC's Lutheran Voice radio programme. In 1964, TLC began to broadcast short gospel plays on educational television. At the beginning of 1970, under the able leadership of the Rev. David Chao, TLC and the CELC jointly established a TV centre and produced a weekly programme, the 'Sunday Play House', which won wide acclaim from church, government and society. Unfortunately, as the costs kept escalating, this TV programme had to be ended some time in the 1980s.[77]

In 1960, TLC and the ELCHK had jointly established an interregional literature work agency, the Taosheng Publishing House. TLC pastor Yin Ying was appointed director. When in

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 60-63.

1982 this joint venture ended, TLC carried on its literature work through Taiwan Taosheng Publishing House.

g. Church Co-operation

TLC has been committed to Lutheran co-operation from the very beginning. Already in 1960 it became a member of the LWF, and in 1977 a founding member of the united Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong; in 1979, together with the other Lutheran churches, it founded the Chinese Lutheran Churches' Association in Taiwan.

B. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA (LCROC)

1. The Beginnings

Like the Hong Kong–Macau Lutheran Church, the LCROC was founded by the Norwegian Lutheran Misson (NLM). The NLM formerly worked in Henan, Hubei and Shaanxi provinces in mainland China and founded Yu-eshaan Lutheran Church.[78] In 1952, one of its missionaries, Ms. Sigrun Omestad, came to Taiwan and started mission work in Chenggong New Village, Taibei. This marked the first chapter of the LCROC and the beginning of its first congregation, Lingguangtang.[79]

2. The Development

In October 1952, the Rev. Liu Dao-Sheng, who had been working in Hong Kong, was called to serve as pastor of Lingguangtang. On Christmas day that year, ten people were baptised.[80] Today, Lingguangtang has become the 'central church' of the LCROC.

[78] Du Sheng-en, *A Brief History of the LCROC — A Brief Centennial History of the NLM in China, 1891-1991* (in Chinese). This book tells the history of the NLM, namely of its work in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

a. Church Structure

During its first four years, the NLM, like most other Lutheran missions, worked under the umbrella of TLC, but in 1956 it withdrew from TLC and began to work independently.[81]

On 2 August 1960, the NLM registered with the government as a legal body. On 17 June 1967, the NLM established a 'laohui' (meaning 'elder church' — a church of the Presbyterian system) in Taibei, just as it had done in mainland China before, and called it the Lutheran Church of the Republic of China (LCROC). In 1972, another 'laohui' was established in Yiyang. These two 'laohui' then merged in 1974 to form the 'synod' of the LCROC, with Elder Yu Yuan-Hong as president. Successive presidents over the last 20 plus years include Elder Yao Han and the Revds Shu Hong-Ren, Shi Yun-Sheng, Chang Li and Wu Wan-Fu.[82]

In 1996, the LCROC passed the motion to ordain women.

In 1975, the NLM, feeling that it had completed its responsibility as a mission and that the time had come for handing over all its operations to the local church, declared that it would leave the 'synod'. Although still willing to continue co-operation with the LCROC as 'partner', the NLM would no longer regard itself as the 'boss'. By 1985, the LCROC had fulfilled the seven-year self-support scheme which it had signed with the NLM, and became independent.[83]

b. Evangelism Outreach

The LCROC is an evangelism-minded church. Its work was at first confined to the Mandarin-speaking people who had arrived from mainland China and was later expanded to include the local, Taiwanese-speaking people. During the first years it worked

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 61.

mainly in the cities; later it included also villages in the mountains and along the coast. At first, almost all evangelism programmes were headed by missionaries, but later became the responsibility of the Chinese leaders.

In the 1950s, the LCROC established three congregations in Taibei. In the 1960s no less than six congregations came into existence in different places in Taiwan. In the 1970s, another four new congregations were added. In the 1980s, the LCROC started an evangelism programme in the Taoyuan area.[84] By 1994, the LCROC had 16 congregations and 1,200 members.

On 24 June 1990, the Rev. Jiang Chuan-Ren and his wife were sent to the north of Thailand as missionaries. Thus began the first chapter of the LCROC's overseas mission.[85]

c. Educational programmes

Although in Taiwan education is the responsibility of the government, the LCROC feels that the church has an important role to play in education. The LCROC therefore, from the very beginning, has created kindergartens, starting in 1962 with the one attached to the congregation Shengdaotang.[86]

d. Theological Education

The LCROC and the NLM greatly stressed the importance of leadership training. In 1952, the NLM and the other Lutheran missions established the Lutheran Bible Institute in Gaoxiong; in 1965, the LCROC co-operated with three other Lutheran missions to found China Lutheran Theological Seminary in Xinzhu. At the end of the 1980s, the LCROC, with the help of NLM scholarships, sent several outstanding young people to the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong for advanced studies.[87]

[84] *Ibid.*, also pp. 96-99.

[85] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 52, 63.

e. Communication

In spite of being a small church, the LCROC has always made Christian communication a serious concern. In 1972, it started the Voice of Salvation, a broadcasting programme. In 1976, it launched a small translation and publication project. In order to spread Christian literature, a 'gospel van' for some time brought Bibles and other Christian books to the people.[88]

f. Church Co-operation

The NLM is one of the more conservative mission bodies, and it has been reserved in its inter-church relationships as its withdrawal from TLC in 1956 has shown. But in recent years, the LCROC has been more open in its relations with other Lutheran churches. Not only has it been supporting China Lutheran Theological Seminary faithfully, but it also became a member of the LWF in 1995.

C. THE CHINESE LUTHERAN BRETHREN CHURCH (CLBC)

1. The Beginnings

The CLBC was founded by the Lutheran Brethren China Mission (LBCM), a mission society of the Church of the Lutheran Brethren in the USA. In 1902, the LBCM sent missionaries to mainland China, namely to the west of Henan and the north of Hubei, i.e., the border regions of those two provinces. The church they established was called Zundaohui, or Yu-e Frontier Lutheran Church. In 1949, after it was accepted by the LCC as one of its synods, it officially became Yuxi (west Henan) Lutheran Church.[89]

In 1951, A. E. Nyhus, a missionary who had worked in Yuxi Lutheran Church in China, arrived in Taiwan. He started mission

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 60."

[89] Cf. 'Yuxi Synod' in Chapter 1.

work in Xinzhu the next year. The same year, the Rev. Tu Chang-Wu, the former president of Yuxi Lutheran Church came to Taiwan after a visit to the USA. He immediately began preaching the gospel to the families of the military. The Rev. Tu became the CLBC's first Chinese pastor in Taiwan.[90]

2. The Development

Although the Church of the Lutheran Brethren was one of the smallest Lutheran churches in the USA, it was not the smallest in mission work. It sent a total of 34 missionaries to mainland China; in 1952-1987, it sent another 18 missionaries to Taiwan.[91] The close co-operation between these missionaries and their Chinese co-workers meant that the CLBC developed steadily.

a. Church Structure

At the beginning, the LBCM worked together with other Lutheran mission societies. It became one of the founding members of TLC on 10 November 1954, when the Rev. Tu Chang-Wu was elected TLC president. For some reason, it withdrew from TLC two years later and became independent.[92]

In 1958, the LBCM set up a Chinese church, the China Lutheran Brethren Church (CLBC), and the Rev. Tu was elected president. He was succeeded in this position by the Revds A. E. Nyhus, Li Yao-Gong and Aandahl. In 1962, the title 'president' was changed to that of 'chairman'. Those elected chairman over the next twelve years were the Revds Nyhus, Otto Valder, David Mao, Charles S. Batchelder and Xu Xin-Ming. In 1974, the title 'chairman' was changed back to that of 'president'. In the next twenty years, four Chinese pastors succeeded each other as president, namely the Revds David Mao, Xu Xin-Ming, Su Fu-Lyu and Yang Kai-Rong. [93]

[90] 'A Brief Introduction to the CLBC' (in Chinese).

[91] *CLBC 30th Anniversary Bulletin, 1958-1987*, p. 8 (in Chinese).

[92] *TLC 40th Anniversary Bulletin, 1954-1994*, p. 69 (in Chinese).

[93] *CLBC 30th Anniversary Bulletin, 1958-1987*, p. 76 (in Chinese).

When the financial subsidy from the LBCM stopped in 1985, the CLBC became self-supporting and self-governing.[94]

b. Evangelism Outreach

The CLBC began its activity in Xinzhu; then extended it southward to Miaoli, Zhu-nan, Longgang and Tongxiao. Later it turned northward to Taoyuan. At first, it confined its work to Mandarin-speaking people, but as of 1981, it included the Hakka-speaking as well.[95] Of the 16 congregations it has today, ten were established in the 1950s. With about 2,000 members, it is one of the larger Lutheran churches in Taiwan.

c. Theological Education

The LBCM has made decisive contributions to the development of Lutheran theological education in Taiwan in both funds and personnel. On 30 January 1966, the LBCM, together with two Norwegian missions and a Finnish mission, founded China Lutheran Theological Seminary (CLTS) in Xinzhu. During the first three years, classes had to be conducted in a borrowed church building until the new campus was ready in 1969. All funds needed for purchasing the land and the buildings came from the LBCM; the costs for the faculty residences were shared by the participating missions.[96]

For the first sixteen years, all CLTS presidents were missionaries. It was not until 1982 that the Board of Directors elected a Chinese president, the Rev. Xu Xin-Ming, the previous chairman and president of the CLBC.[97] Under Xu's leadership, the CLTS was gradually transformed from a totally mission-sponsored seminary to a local, church-supported leadership

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[95] 'A Brief Introduction to the CLBC' (in Chinese).

[96] *CLBC 30th Anniversary Bulletin, 1958-1987*, pp. 23-24 (in Chinese).

[97] *Ibid.*

training centre. In 1989, the CLTS expanded to include all Lutheran churches in Taiwan, and Dr. Thomas Yu of TLC became president.

d. Communication

The CLBC's contribution in the area of communication came from one of its veteran ministers, the Rev. Li Yao-Gong, a gifted and deeply committed writer. In 1955, he began to publish a weekly paper, the *Seven Days Food Weekly*. For almost thirty years, this small paper presented excellent reading material promoting Christian spirituality, and evangelism and outreach.[98]

D. THE CHINA EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (CELC)

1. The Beginnings

Like the Lutheran Church–Hong Kong Synod (LCHKS), the CELC was established by the Evangelical Lutheran Mission for China (ELMC), the mission society of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod in the USA, founded in 1912.[99]

In 1951, a great number of mainland China refugees arrived in Taiwan via Hong Kong. Some of them had been converted to Christ in the LCHKS during their stay in Hong Kong. In order to take care of their spiritual needs, the Rev. Herbert Hinz, an ELMC missionary in Hong Kong, travelled to Taiwan from time to time. The same year, Ms. Olive Gruen arrived, one of the missionaries who had worked in mainland China for years. She was the first ELMC missionary in Taiwan. Appealed to by both Hinz and Gruen, the ELMC sent Dr. Roy Suelflow to Taiwan to work out

[98] *CLBC 30th Anniversary Bulletin, 1958-1987*, pp. 68-69 (in Chinese); also 'Commemoration of Rev. Li Yao-gong', p. 211.

[99] Cf. 'The Beginnings of the LC-HKS' under 'Hong Kong' in this book.

a plan for mission. Having served as a Bible school teacher for years in Japan, Dr. Suelflow saw as one of his most urgent tasks the building of a seminary to train church leaders.[100]

2. The Development

The Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod is one of the largest Lutheran churches in the USA. With its support, the CELC grew fast, particularly in the 1950s.

a. Church Structure

Just like the ELMC churches in mainland China and Hong Kong, the CELC named itself 'Zhonghua Fuyindao Ludehui' which, translated literally, means 'Chinese Gospel Doctrine Luther Church'. Thus, the CELC is the only Lutheran church in Taiwan using the traditional name, 'Luther Church', rather than the name approved by all Chinese Lutheran churches, namely 'Xinyihui' or Faith Righteousness Church.

The development of the CELC can be divided into three periods: 1951-1959, when it was led by missionaries; 1959-1965, when missionaries and Chinese co-workers worked together as partners; 1966 and after, when missionaries gradually left the scene and let their Chinese co-workers take over leadership.[101]

Since 1961, mission subsidies to the church were reduced by five per cent every year. In 1993, mission support for administration came to a complete stop and the church has been moving toward complete self-support and self-governance.

The church is led by a chairman. Those who succeeded each other in this capacity over the years were the Revds Wan Jian-

[100] 'The CELC in Perspective: its Past, its Present, its Future' (a typewritten paper), pp. 2-3.

[101] 'The Work of the LC–MS in China and Taiwan, with special reference to the CELC' (a type-written paper).

Qiao, Ju Tai-Kai, Ren Zhi-Ping, Zhu Wen-Sheng, Mei You-Feng, Xuan Ren-Yang and Zhang Shu-Hua.

b. Evangelism Outreach

The CELC works in three regions. namely, the north, the middle-east and the south. Three congregations, Yongshengtang in the north, Ziontang in the middle-east and Shi-entang in the south all were founded in 1951.[102] The CELC began with evangelizing the Mandarin-speaking people who had arrived from mainland China. In 1975, it extended its work to the local, Hakka-speaking people. Dr. Suelflow felt that since the mobility of the China-mainlanders was high, it was imperative to start evangelism work among indigenous Taiwanese people if the church was to have future in Taiwan. Encouraged by him, the missionaries began to learn Taiwanese in 1958.[103]

The CELC has been a fast growing and evangelism-minded church, especially for the first twenty years. By 1959, it already had 1,221 members. In 1959-1965, i.e., shortly after it started work with the Taiwanese-speaking population, it established nine congregations or evangelism centres, and membership increased to 1,906. By 1991, i.e., after forty years of work, it had 26 congregations and evangelism centres, namely 11 in the northern region, five in the eastern region and ten in the south.[104] According to LWI statistics and the Taosheng Church Directory for 1994, it had 29 congregations and evangelism centres and 2,621 members which makes it the second largest Lutheran church in Taiwan, next to TLC.

c. Education

In 1967, the CELC established Concordia Middle School in Jiayi.[105] It was the only Lutheran secondary school in Taiwan, and one of the very few Christian secondary schools on the island.

[102] Cf. 'The CELC in 1991' (a chart).

[103] 'The CELC in Perspective', p. 6.

[104] Cf. 'The CELC in 1991' (a chart).

[105] *Ibid.*

d. Social Services

The CELC was one of the few churches in Taiwan providing social services to the community. According to a 1966 report, its social service centre had offered 17 kinds of service to 1,202 families that year.[106]

e. Theological Education

In 1952, ten graduates of the two-year programme offered by Concordia Bible School arrived with the many refugees from Hong Kong. Some of them expressed the desire for advanced studies so that they could serve the church full time. This was the main reason why Dr. Suelflow opened a theology study class at his residence as soon as he arrived in Taibei. Although most of the students had been soldiers lacking a strong religious background, they were hardworking and committed Christians who were to become the mainstay of the ministerium in the early years of the CELC's history.[107]

In 1954, Concordia Seminary moved to its own campus in ayi. Eleven students graduated in 1959, and five in 1964. Student nrolment decreased rapidly after 1966, and the seminary was forced to close down. In order to carry on leadership training, the CELC established a union seminary in co-operation with TLC. But two years later, this co-operation ended. Leadership training was carried on in various ways, none of which was satisfactory. Finally, in 1994, the CELC decided to join the other Lutheran churches in Taiwan to participate in the operation of China Lutheran Theological Seminary in Xinzhu.[108].

[106] Cf. 1966 CELC Report and Statistics.

[107] 'The CELC in Perspective', pp. 2-3.

[108] 'The Work of the LC–MS in China and Taiwan'.

f. Communication

The most popular of the CELC's communication programmes was the gospel broadcast on Lutheran Hour, already widely accepted since the early 1940s in mainland China. In 1951, Dr. Suelflow opened a seminary, and started a broadcasting programme. During its early years it was produced by missionaries. The person, however, who served longest and contributed most was one of its Chinese co-workers, Director Wu Xuan-Ren, who died in 1996.[109]

Besides broadcasting, the CELC also stressed literature work. Dr. Riedel, one of its senior missionaries, introduced and translated a number of important Lutheran doctrinal works.[110]

g. Church Co-operation

Although the CELC is comparatively conservative, it has supported many Lutheran co-operative programmes. It has been actively involved in the Chinese Lutheran Churches' Association in Taiwan since 1979, and has supported the China Lutheran Theological Seminary since 1994.

E. THE CHINA LUTHERAN GOSPEL CHURCH (CLGC)

1. The Beginnings

The CLGC was founded by the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission (NLF). Since 1916, the NLF had worked in the south of Shaanxi province where it also had established the Shaannan Lutheran Church. In 1946, the CLGC became a synod of the Lutheran Church of China.[111]

[109] *Ibid.*; also cf. 'The CELC in 1991' (a chart).

[110] 'The CELC in Perspective', pp. 17-18.

[111] Cf. 'Shaannan Synod' in Chapter I.

In 1954, the NLF sent the Rev. J. T. Johansen, Jr, who had previously laboured in Shaannan to Taiwan to work under TLC. Besides teaching in the Bible school in Gaoxiong, he served as a pastor in Gangshan Lutheran Church. In 1961, the NLF decided to separate from TLC, and Johansen, together with other NLF missionaries, set up an evangelism programme of its own. [112]

2. The Development

The work of the CLGC began in Dongshi, and later expanded to Fengyuan, Sizhangli, Houli, Zhendu, Pinglin, Zhongke and Taipingxiang. Since the work of the CLGC started rather late and since personnel and financial resources from the NLF were limited, this church grew much more slowly than the other Lutheran churches. By 1994, it had only nine congregations and 225 members.

The CLGC had been led by missionaries until August 1973, when the church was officially established and leadership was shifted to the Chinese. The Rev. Xiong Ming-Xiang was elected the first chairman. In the following twenty years, the Revds Zhang Dao-Xue, Liang Guan-Qing, Mei You-Feng and Jiang Mao-Song succeeded each other as chairman.

In 1981, the CLGC signed a 'Ten-Year Self-Support Plan' with the NLF. Since the end of 1991, when the plan came to an end, the CLGC has been moving steadily towards complete independence.[113]

Although the CLGC is small and has limited resources, it never hesitated to cooperate with other Lutheran churches. When the Chinese Lutheran Churches' Association in Taiwan was founded in 1979, it became a member and it was one of the four founding members of the China Lutheran Theological Seminary in 1966.

[112] 'A Brief Introduction of the CLGC' (a typewritten paper in Chinese).

[113] *Ibid.*

F. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF TAIWAN (LCT)

1. The Beginnings

The LCT was founded by the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS). In the first half of the 20th century, the FMS had worked in western Hunan where it established Xiangxi Lutheran Church. In 1913, the FMS took part in the founding of Lutheran Theological Seminary in Shekou, and of the Lutheran Church of China in Jigongshan in 1920.[114]

On 4 September 1955, the Rev. Toivo Koskikallio, president of Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong, arrived in Taiwan at the request of the FMS to do a feasibility study on mission work. In October 1956, in response to Koskikallio's study, the FMS sent the Rev. Päivö Parviainen and Ms. Elma Aaltonen to Taiwan.[115] These three missionaries had all worked in western Hunan before.

2. The Development

Although the FMS was the last Lutheran mission to come to Taiwan, it worked hard and made good progress.

a. Church Structure

For the first few years, the FMS worked under the umbrella of the Taiwan Lutheran Mission Association. Besides doing evangelistic work in places where there were no Lutheran and particularly no Mandarin-speaking churches, it also helped TLC in its television, radio, literature and medical programmes. In 1974, for practical reasons, it withdrew from the Association and worked independently.[116] On 3 April 1977, the Lutheran Church

[114] Cf. 'Xiangxi Synod' in Chapter I.

[115] Liu Ren-Hai, 'A Brief Introduction of the LCT' (a typewritten paper in Chinese).

[116] Taimo Kaariainen, 'A Brief Introduction of the FMS Work in Taiwan between 1956-1977'.

of Taiwan was established in Chaozhou and the Rev. Ye Bo-Xiang was elected president. In the following years, he was succeeded by the Revds Cai He-Xing, Xiao Jian-Li, Gao Ying-Mao, Zhou Mao-Sheng and Liu Ren-Hai.[117]

The LCT has three districts: the southern rural district, the southern urban district and the northern urban district. Its headquarters are in Gaoxiong.

b. Evangelism Outreach

The LCT is an evangelism-minded church. It first began to work in the south and later in the north, first in the country, and later in the cities. At first it only worked among the Mandarin-speaking people, but later extended its service to those who speak Taiwanese and even Hakka.

It held its first worship service in a simple and primitive room in Hengchun on 27 January 1957. The first Holy Communion was conducted on 24 February and attended by 11 people, including four missionaries. In the spring of the same year, Mr. Cai Hexing, who had just graduated from Lutheran Bible School, was called to serve the church as its first Chinese co-worker.[118]

During the pioneer period between 1956-1965, the FMS sent a total of 26 missionaries to Taiwan, 17 of whom were involved in evangelism and theological education, and nine in medical services. There were 20 Chinese co-workers, but only 11 of them had received a Lutheran theological education.[119]

When the LCT was officially established in 1977, it had 21 congregations, two student centres, a radio broadcast centre, a literature centre and a hospital. By 1995, it had a total of 24 congregations and 1,500 members, namely 11congregations and

[117] Liu Ren-Hai, *op. cit.*

[118] Taimo Kaariainen, *op. cit.*

[119] *Ibid.*

700 members in the southern rural district; seven congregations and 407 members in the southern urban district; and six congregations and 393 members in the northern urban districts.[120]

c. Social Services

The FMS attached great importance to the role of medical services in mission work. At the very beginning, it sent missionaries to work in different hospitals so that they would get to know the situation. In 1964, it established its own clinic in Hengchun and in 1965, launched a mobile medical service. In 1976, the clinic in Hengchun became a hospital. In 1979, the hospital was lent to Luke Mission Society, for a period of fifty years, to carry out medical mission programmes.[121] A half-way house to help drug abusers who wanted to rid themselves of the drugs was also established.[122]

d. Theological Education

In order to train Chinese co-workers, the FMS from the beginning strongly emphasised theological education. In 1957-1958, it sent a missionary to Gaoxiong to teach at Lutheran Bible Institute. After the Bible school and the seminary in Taizhong had been closed, it conducted a number of short-term leadership training courses. In 1966, it cooperated with three other Lutheran missions and established China Lutheran Theological Seminary in Xinzhu.[123] During the 1970s and 1980s, the LCT sent a number of its co-workers to LTS in Hong Kong for advanced studies.

e. Communication

In 1967, the FMS established a radio station in Chaozhou to broadcast the gospel and provide information in different dialects,

[120] Liu Ren-Hai, *op. cit.*

[121] Taimo Kaariainen, *op. cit.*

[122] Liu Ren-Hai, *op. cit.*

[123] Taimo Kaariainen, *op. cit.*

including Mandarin, Taiwanese and Hakka. In order to strengthen this radio ministry, a correspondence course was offered. In 1979, the LCT established a literature work centre which has not only helped the congregations and evangelism centres build their own small libraries, but has also provided a mobile book service to the communities.[124]

f. Church Cooperation

The FMS took a positive attitude towards Lutheran cooperation from the very beginning. For the first few years it mainly worked under the Taiwan Lutheran Mission Association, without developing a programme of its own. When the LCT began working independently, it continued to work closely with other mission groups and churches. As mentioned above, the LCT was a founding member of both the Chinese Lutheran Churches' Association in Taiwan and China Lutheran Theological Seminary. It became a member of the LWF in 1984.

* * *

The growth of the six Lutheran churches in Taiwan was rather slow. By 1996, they had a total of 134 congregations and 13,408 members.[125]

Besides the six Lutheran churches mentioned above, the Rhenish Church–Hong Kong Synod also began operations in Taiwan in the 1970s. Under the leadership of the Rev. Stephen Tsui, it opened a church, a student hostel, and a clinic in Taibei, as well as an evangelism centre in Yonghe. The Rev. Tsui was elected the first chairman of the Chinese Lutheran Churches' Association in Taiwan. But due to the financial crisis of the Rhenish Church in Hong Kong, all the programmes mentioned above had come to an end by 1991.

[124] *Ibid.*

[125] Cf. Appendix III: Lutheran Churches in Taiwan.

Recently, South Asian Lutheran Evangelical Mission also started working in Taiwan. But as it is still in its beginning phase, it is not introduced here.

III. MALAYSIA-SINGAPORE

In the Malaysia-Singapore area, there are two Chinese Lutheran churches:

A. The Basel Christian Church of Malaysia (BCCM)
B. Lutheran Church of Malaysia and Singapore (LCMS)

The two above churches became LWF members in 1979 and 1971 respectively.

They, together with two other Lutheran-related churches, formed the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Malaysia in 1977.

A brief description of these two churches follows.

A. THE BASEL CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF MALAYSIA (BCCM)

1. The Beginnings

The BCCM is the oldest Chinese Lutheran church besides the Chongzhen Church (Tsung Tsin Mission) and Lixiang Church (Rhenish Church) in Hong Kong.

In the middle of the 19th century, after the so-called Taiping Rebellion had been crushed, the Qing Dynasty government mounted a large-scale arrest of people who had been sympathetic to Hong Xiuquan, the leader of the rebellion. As Hong had been a Hakka-speaking Christian, the Hakka-speaking Basel Church became more suspicious to the government than any other church. It was no surprise, therefore, that when at the end of the 19th century the British North Borneo Chartered Company was recruiting Chinese labourers to develop North Borneo, it received

support from Rudolph Lechler, the famous Basel mission leader. This was why the first groups of people who responded to the recruitment and went to North Borneo were all members of the Basel Church.[126]

In 1882, the first Basel Christians, comprising more than ten families led by Lo Tai-Feng, arrived in Lausan in Sabah. In 1886, a second group, led by Li Xiang-Guang and Huang Xu-Ming, arrived in Kudat. In 1913, a third group arrived.[127]

Besides reclaiming and cultivating land, these Basel Christians were eager to promote their spiritual life. With the assistance of the Basel Mission, they began to build churches and schools.

2. The Development

The BCCM grew fast, particularly in the 1980s. It is the largest of the Chinese-speaking Lutheran churches today.

a. Church Structure

The BCCM was founded in Lausan. In 1886, Lausan Church as built. As the number of immigrants increased, more churches ere built here and there, including Kudat Church in 1901, Parpa Church in 1903, Kota Kinabalu (formerly Jesselton) Church in 1904, Sandakan Church in 1907 and Tenom Church in 1912.[128]

In 1925, when the BCCM met in Kudat for its First Assembly, it accepted the proposal from the Basel Mission to become self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating, and was then named the Borneo Self-governing Basel Church. The Rev. Huang

[126] *A History of the Basel Christian Self-Supporting Church in Borneo,* 1963, p. 9 (in Chinese).

[127] *Ibid.,* pp. 9-11.

[128] *BCCM Centenary Bulletin, 1882-1982.* Cf. List of churches.

Tian-Yu was elected president and the Basel Mission promised to transfer all its property to the church.[129] Some church historians believed that it was the first 'three-selves' Chinese church.

In 1941-1945, under the Japanese occupation, many church members were killed and most of the churches and schools destroyed.[130] But between 1949 and the first half of the 1970s, the church rehabilitated with the assistance of the LWF and the Basel Mission.[131]

In 1964, the church changed its name to the present one, the Basel Christian Church of Malaysia (BCCM). In 1981, when the 20th Assembly was held, it decided to appoint a full-time chief pastor to meet the needs of the rapidly growing church. The Rev. Thu EnYu was elected chief pastor and Datak K.C. Fung president. In 1983, the title chief pastor was changed to that of bishop, and the Rev. Thu was elected to that position.[132] When Thu's term was up in 1995, he was succeeded by the Rev. Voo Thien-Fui. The presidents succeeding Datak Fung were both lay leaders, viz. Mr. Yap Pak-Vui and Mr. Peter Lee.

In 1986, the BCCM ordained Ms. Pang Ken-Phin and Ms. Chong Fui-Yung, and thus became the first Chinese Lutheran church to ordain women.

Originally, the BCCM had five districts: Kudat, Kota Kinabalu, Sandakan, Interior and Tawau. Later, Kota Kinabalu district was divided into two districts: Kota Kinabalu and Tuaran,

[129] *A History of the Basel Christian Self-supporting Church in Borneo* (in Chinese), pp. 11-12.

[130] *Ibid.* Seventy-eight church members were killed outright and hundreds died.

[131] *Ibid.* Besides providing personnel, the LWF helped to rebuild eight churches and ten schools.

[132] *BCCM Special Bulletin, 1982-1986*, p. 6.

which brought the number of districts to six. These six districts carry out together pastoral, evangelistic and educational ministries.

b. Evangelism Outreach

The BCCM grew rapidly. During the first hundred years of its existence, it established a total of 83 congregations. Some of them merged or closed down. When the BCCM celebrated its centenary in1982, it had 33 congregations and 12,000 members.[133] Its membership increased to 21,000 in 1990, to 25,000 in 1994, and to 32,000 in 1996. Today it has the largest membership of all Chinese-speaking Lutheran churches. (The 13,000 members in the BCCM's Malay-speaking section are not included.)

One of the main reasons for the rapid growth of the BCCM is its enthusiasm for evangelism. In 1951-1953, the BCCM assisted he Basel Mission in its programmes for the Rungus tribe in Kudat, and helped the tribal Christians to establish the Protestant Church in Sabah. With its support, the PCS grew very fast and in 1996 had already 30,000 members.

In 1966, the government of Malaysia made all missionaries whose visa had expired leave the country. The BCCM therefore established a committee of five members who took over the mission programmes among tribal peoples left by the Basel missionaries. In 1974, some members of the BCCM launched a campaign of 'Preaching the Gospel to the Natives' to expand and strengthen the work among the tribes.[134] By 1996, the BCCM had 13,000 Malay-speaking members representing more than ten tribes and more than 80 congregations.[135]

c. Educational Programmes

The BCCM attached great importance to education. At first,

[133] *BCCM Centenary Bulletin, 1882-1982*. Cf. List of churches and p. 22.

[134] *BCCM Special Bulletin, 1982-1986*, pp. 4-5.

[135] Cf. BCCM Bishop's Report, 1995.

all schools taught in Chinese. But today, Chinese, Malay and English are all used.

In 1901, Kudat Church established the BCCM's first primary school. As the need increased, other churches also set up primary schools, namely Lausan Church in 1903, Kota Kinabalu Church in 1905, and Sandakan Church in 1907. In 1906, Kudat Church also founded the first secondary school, Lok Yuk Secondary School; the next was Sung Siew Secondary School by Sandakun Church in 1907 — 'sung siew' meaning 'double education', indicating that both Chinese and English are used. In 1922, an English primary and middle school were established by Kota Kinabalu Church. In 1934 this school became the all-English Lok Yuk Secondary School.[136]

During the Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945 almost all schools were destroyed. Beginning in 1949, with the generous assistance of the LWF both in funds and personnel through one of its member churches in the USA, Augustana Lutheran Church, the schools were rehabilitated fast.[137]

Since the 1960s, the BCCM has also begun to stress education for preschool children. Various congregations established kindergartens. The first kindergarten was the Sung Siew Kindergarten in Sandakan.[138]

[136] *Compendium of Schools Established by the BCCM* — A Report of the Education Affairs Committee of the BCCM, 1995, pp. 4-6.

[137] *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 4, 40, 43, 62, 71, 75, 79, 82. Also *BCCM Centenary Bulletin*, pp. 116-121. The co-ordinator of the LWF assistance to the BCCM was Augustana Mission in the USA. Besides funds, AM sent a number of missionaries who had worked in mainland China to Sabah. For instance, in 1949, the Revds Lundeen, H. Zimmerman and D. Nelson were sent to the middle school in Kota Kinabalu; in 1951, the Rev. Floyd Johnson and Ms. Adeline Lungquist were sent to Sung Siew Secondary School in Sandakan as principal and teacher respectively; in 1952, Ms. Hanna Hanson was sent to teach in LokYuk Middle School in Kudat; in 1954-1956, Mr. Daniel Lien was sent from Hong Kong to serve as Lok Yuk's principal.

[138] *Compendium of Schools Established by the BCCM*, p. 134.

In 1972, the Malaysia Education Department took over all schools except the kindergartens. The responsibility of the BCCM School Board was limited to assisting the school administration and management and to planning new school buildings. Educational policies and teaching media of BCCM schools became the same as those of other schools.[139] Bible studies and religious education were no longer part of the curriculum, but could be conducted as extra-curricular activities.

In 1995, the BCCM had a total of 25 schools, namely three secondary and twelve primary schools, and ten kindergartens.

d. Theological Education

As evangelism work among the tribes increased rapidly, the BCCM in 1980 set up a Bible training centre in Kota Kinabalu for training workers in the tribal churches. In 1988, the Bible training centre was expanded and became Sabah Theological Seminary. Under the leadership of President Thu EnYu, the seminary developed fast. By 1996, STS was not only able to offer certificate and diploma courses, but also programmes leading to B.Th. and B.D. degrees.

In 1989, accredited by ATESEA, STS certificates, diplomas and degrees were recognised.[140]

At the beginning of the 1990s, STS began to upgrade its faculty and enlarge its campus. Assisted and supported by the related churches, the Sabah government, the LWF, and the Basel Mission, STS completed an administration building in 1994, and a faculty residence in 1997. The student dormitory is expected to be finished in 1999.[141]

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] STS Catalogue, 1997-2000, p. 15.

[141] *10th Anniversary Magazine of Sabah Theological Seminary, 1988-1998*, p. 18.

e. Church Cooperation

Close relations and contacts with churches all over the world are a proof of the BCCM's ecumenical engagement. Not only is the BCCM a member of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Malaysia and of the LWF; it has also built close relationships with the Basel Mission and with many Lutheran, Methodist and Baptist churches in different countries.[142]

B. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE (LCMS)

1. The Beginnings

When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, Malaya, the former British colony, harassed by the procommunist guerrilla, felt threatened. In order to guard against Chinese communist infiltration, the government placed a very large number of Chinese people into so-called 'new villages' for easy control. In March 1952, the LWF convened the First Southeast Asia Lutheran Consultation in Penang, appealing to Lutheran churches everywhere to respond to the spiritual need of the half million Chinese people who were stranded in these 'new villages' which looked more or less like concentration camps.[143]

In October 1952, the United Lutheran Church of America, in response to an appeal by the LWF, took the lead by sending Dr. Paul Anspach to Malaya to launch a mission programme. Dr. Peng Fu, the former national president of the Lutheran Church of China, who represented the Hong Kong Lutheran churches in the Consultation, promised to send a large number of Chinese seminary graduates from Hong Kong to join the mission work in

[142] Cf. 1995 BCCM Bishop's Report.

[143] Warren Lau, *A Heavenly Vision: The Story of the Lutheran Church in Malaysia and Singapore, 1952-1993*. This book gives a detailed account of the beginnings and development of the LCMS; particularly p. xviii.

Malaya. An united international mission project with missionaries from the USA, Germany, Sweden and Hong Kong thus got off the ground.[144]

2. The Development

a. Church Structure

In the beginning of 1953, the Rev. Paul Anspach, who had worked in China for years, arrived in Malaya. The following year, the first group of missionaries from Hong Kong, consisting of the Rev. Daniel Chu, Mr. Stephen Han and Mr. Yang Dao-Tong, arrived. The Rev. Chu established the Good Shepherd Lutheran Church in Petaling Jaya. It was the first church of the LCMS. In 1960, the LCMS extended its work from Malaya to Singapore.[145]

In 1957, Malaya became independent; in 1963, Malaya and Singapore formed the Federation of Malaysia. The same year, the Lutheran Church in Malaysia was established, and missionary Paul Alberti was elected president. In 1965, when Singapore pulled out of the Federation, the name of the church was changed to Lutheran Church in Malaysia and Singapore (LCMS).[146]

In 1964, the LCMS conducted the first ordination service when three Chinese evangelists from Hong Kong, Yang Dao-Tong, Jin Dao-Sheng and Zhang Guo-Shu, were ordained. In 1968, two Chinese Malaysians, Lai Bao-Quan and Lu Hai-Shan, were ordained.[147]

In 1974, the LCMS adopted the episcopal structure, and missionary Carl Fisher was elected bishop. Fisher's term ended

[144] *Ibid.*

[145] *Ibid.*

[146] *Ibid.*, p. i.

[147] *Ibid.*

in 1978, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Peter Foong. Bishop Foong, and those who came after him, viz. Daniel Chong and Gideon Chang, were ethnic-Chinese Malaysians.[148]

In 1980, the LCMS completed the 'ten-year self-support plan' and became self-reliant.[149]

In 1994, Ms. Lui Bee-Leng was ordained into the ministry, the first woman to become a pastor in the LCMS.

The LCMS is divided into three districts: Northern District, Selangor District and Singapore District. The Northern District is the largest in number of congregations, while the Singapore District the strongest in financial resources.

In order to find out how the church should be restructured to meet the new international situation between Malaysia and Singapore, the LCMS called a Consultation on Church Restructure in 1991. The Church Restructure Committee recommended that the church should adopt the 'one-church-two-synods' system in 1995, i.e., that the LCMS be divided into two synods, the Malaysia Synod and the Singapore Synod, and that the two synods should become two independent churches in two different countries in 2001.[150]

The responses to the recommendation from the churches in Singapore and Malaysia differed. The churches in Singapore voted for independence in 1996, and the Rev. John Tan was elected first bishop. The churches in Malaysia, however, did not vote for independence until October 1997, and the Rev. Gideon Chang was elected bishop. Hence, beginning 1 January 1998, the LCMS divided into two independent churches, namely the Lutheran Church in Singapore, and the Lutheran Church in Malaysia.

[148] *Ibid.*

[149] *Ibid.*

[150] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

b. Evangelism Outreach

The LCMS was the fruit of an international effort in mission. As the resources for mission, both in personnel and finance, were ample, its growth was fast, particularly in the early period.

When the church was officially established in 1963, it already had 600 members; by 1973, when it celebrated its tenth anniversary, membership had increased to 2,500, and three years later, i.e., in 1976, to 4,000. Since then, it has grown steadily. Membership was 4,427 in 1988, when it celebrated its 25th anniversary, 5,500 in 1993 at its 30th anniversary, and 6,764 in 1996. The LCMS has 39 congregations, viz., 18 in the Northern District, 13 in Selangor District and eight in Singapore District.[151]

At the beginning of 1998, the 31 churches in the Northern and Selangor Districts became members of the Lutheran Church in Malaysia, while the eight churches in Singapore District constituted the Lutheran Church in Singapore.

c. Theological Education

Initially, most missionaries came from Hong Kong. By 1958, there were a total of 22 Hong Kong co-workers, including ten Lutheran Theological Seminary graduates. They were Daniel Chu, Stephan Han and Yang Dao-Tong who had come in 1954, Ma Da-Xin, Jin Dao-Sheng, Zhang Guo-Shu, Liang Shan-Sheng, Qi En-Lian who had arrived in 1956-1957, Xie Xiang-Quan and Tang Zhao-Rong who had come in 1959. These and other Hong Kong missionaries contributed a great deal to founding the church. Those early missionaries came from different countries, different churches and different social and cultural backgrounds and, although they worked together, their status and salaries were also different. As the Chinese proverb says: 'Where there is inequality, there will be an outcry', tensions among the co-

[151] *Ibid.*, p. 163; also 'Chinese Lutheran Churches Directory, 1997' in *1997 Christian Watch Word.*

workers began to appear.[152] This unhappy situation forced the church to launch a leadership programme of its own.

In 1958, the LCMS established the Lutheran Bible Institute (LBI) in Petaling Jaya and called the Rev. Qi En-Lian of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong to serve as principal. On 4 June 1962, the first commencement was held. Two of the nine graduates, Peter Foong and Gideon Chang, later became bishop of the church.[153]

After the LBI was closed in 1964, the LCMS began to co-operate with other theological institutions, particularly Trinity Theological College (TTC) in Singapore. In 1966, the LCMS sent three of its co-workers to TTC for further studies.[154] Dr. Choong Chee Pang, who represented the LCMS on TTC faculty, was to serve as its president for many years.

d. Church Co-operation

The LCMS has great interest in church co-operation. It became a member of the LWF in 1971, and a founding member of the Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Malaysia in 1977. In addition, it has built close relationships with a number of local and international churches and church-organisations.

IV. THE WESTERN WORLD

A. NORTH AMERICA

The first Chinese Lutheran church in North America was True Light Lutheran Church in Chinatown, New York. The church was founded by Ms. Mary E. Banta, a missionary of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod. In 1963, the Rev. Philip Yang, a graduate of Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong, was

[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 54.

[153] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[154] *Ibid.*, p. i.

called to serve as its pastor. He retired in 1993 after thirty years of service.

In 1968, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America established its first Chinese-speaking Lutheran church in North America, the Faith Lutheran Church, in Los Angeles. The Rev. Wilson Wu, also a graduate of LTS in Hong Kong, became its pastor. For some years, Pastor Wu served as a member of ELCA's Division of Global Mission.

There were a total of 46 Chinese Lutheran congregations in North America in 1996, namely 16 in Canada and 30 in the USA.[155] All but a few of these congregations belong to either the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada or to ELCA. Mandarin, Cantonese and English are used in most of these churches. Taiwanese and Hakka are also used in some churches to meet the special need of immigrants. Almost all these churches are located in or near the big cities where the Chinese are concentrated, i.e., New York, Chicago, Houston, San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle and Honolulu in the USA, and Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg and Toronto in Canada. Most of the pastors serving these churches come from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Some of them graduated from Lutheran seminaries in Hong Kong or Taiwan, others attended Lutheran schools in the USA or Canada, and still others have had no regular Lutheran training at all.

The number of immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China is increasing fast, and so does the need for more Chinese-speaking Lutheran churches. More well-trained Lutheran ministers who speak both Chinese and English well and who have a good understanding and appreciation of both Chinese and Western culture are urgently needed.

[155] According to 'Chinese Lutheran Churches Directory 1997', in *1997 Christian Watch Word*. At least two more Chinese churches in the USA should be added to the 1997 Directory: Chinese Life Lutheran Church and Hope Lutheran Church.

B. ENGLAND

In 1981, the Hong Kong Rhenish Church established a congregation in London with Mr. Stephen Ng as minister. Because of the unexpected financial crisis that confronted the Rhenish church in Hong Kong, the congregation was forced to close in 1986. The Rhenish Church in London today is an independent church.

In 1990, the Rev. Samual Lo and his wife Mary Wah, both graduates of LTS in Hong Kong, established a Chinese Lutheran church in London. Under their faithful ministry, this small self-supporting church has survived many difficulties and is growing steadily. In April 1998, it began to receive support from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hong Kong.

C. FRANCE

In 1988, the Lutheran Church in France provided a church building for mission among the Chinese. The Rev. Xie Wei-Zhang from Taiwan became their pastor. The church provided a number of ministries for Chinese in Paris, particularly for students and scholars from China. But due to the lack of funds, the mission programme was suspended in 1996.

D. GERMANY

Lutheran ministry among the Chinese started already in the 1960s with Lutheran pastors like the Rev. Roger Chao from Taiwan in the south, and the Rev. Alvin Tsang from Hong Kong in the north. But their work was more or less informal or on an individual level.

In 1986, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria and the Evangelical Church in Württemberg called the Rev. Wing-Fai Tsang to start a Chinese ministry among the Chinese in southern Germany. The Rev. Nicholas Tai, who was a Th.D. candidate and LTS faculty-in-preparation there at the time, took part in that important work.

When both Tsang and Tai left, the church called the Rev. Isaiah Lee of the ELCHK to carry on the work, which he did for about two years. On 12 December 1997, in response to an invitation from Württemberg and Bavaria Lutheran churches, the ELCHK commissioned the Rev. and Mrs. Ian Cheung as missionaries to Germany. They started working among both German and Chinese people in different places in Germany in 1998.

Another Th.D. candidate, Pilgrimage Lo, was also involved in work among the Chinese, particularly among students from China. After he had finished his doctoral studies and returned to Hong Kong to teach at LTS, the Chinese Christians in Germany continued to worship by themselves.

E. AUSTRALIA

Several Chinese-speaking Lutheran churches opened in various cities in Australia since the early 1990s. The Rev. Titus Lee went to Melbourne in 1991 as a missionary for a co-operative mission project of the Lutheran Church–Hong Kong Synod and the Lutheran Church of Australia. He started a church in Doncaster near Melbourne.

In 1994, the Rev. Bruce Lau and his wife Daisy, both graduates of LTS, opened a self-supporting Chinese Lutheran church in Sydney. Membership more than doubled from about 30 at the beginning to more than 60 four years later. The church is now supported by the Lutheran Church of Australia.

Also in 1994, Dr. Lo Wing-Kwong of LTS was called to start a Chinese ministry in Brisbane in St. Mark's Lutheran Church. The church continues to worship after Lo returned to Hong Kong in 1996 to teach.

F. OTHER COUNTRIES

The Chinese population in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland is very small and in Scandinavia there are no Chinese Lutheran churches as yet. However, some Lutheran missionaries,

connected with China mission in the past, and some Hong Kong church leaders, such as the Rev. Simon Chow, Winnie Ho and Pauline Cheung who did their advanced studies there, often took part in mission programmes conducted by Lutheran or non-Lutheran mission groups. Many of those who responded to the gospel were students from mainland China.

Chinese people are found everywhere in the world. Most of them have not been reached by the gospel. As mainland China is still not open for missionaries from outside, the churches in many countries, namely the Lutheran churches, should take advantage of all opportunities to reach the Chinese people abroad.

CHAPTER

3

Chinese Lutheran Churches and the LWF

The close relationship between the Chinese Lutheran churches and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) began in 1940, during the time of the Lutheran World Convention (LWC), the predecessor of the LWF. We will discuss this relationship from two different angles, namely, the LWF in the Chinese Lutheran churches and the Chinese Lutheran churches in the LWF.

I. THE LWF IN THE CHINESE LUTHERAN CHURCHES

When we look back on the various roles which the LWF played in the Chinese Lutheran churches over the last half century, we see three distinct periods, namely the one of a) Aid for the 'Orphaned Missions', the one of b) Relief to Refugees from China, and the one of c) Support for Leadership Training Outside Mainland China.

A. AID FOR THE 'ORPHANED MISSIONs' (1940-1950)

After World War II broke out in 1939, and particularly after Norway was occupied by Germany in 1940, the ten European

Lutheran mission societies working in China became desperate 'orphans' after their financial support abruptly ended. An emergency aid programme was immediately launched by the LWC through its member churches in the USA.

In August 1940, the LWC established the China Relief Committee to coordinate all relief programmes; it consisted of representatives from the four American Lutheran missions working in China at that time. Missionaries of all the orphaned missions received their first relief package one month later. But after most of the American missionaries in China were forced to leave following the attack on Pearl Harbor at the end of 1941, the LWC asked the National Council of Churches in Chongqing (Chungking), China's wartime capital, to carry on the relief programme on a temporary basis.[1]

In the fall of 1943, the LWC-USA section decided to send Dr. Daniel Nelson to China as its China field director in charge of all the relief work of the orphaned missions. Nelson arrived in Kunming, Yunnan province, on 28 April 1944, and began working in Chongqing on 2 May.[2]

The ten so-called orphaned missions (and their related churches and organizations) are listed below.[3]

Berlin Missionary Society (Yuegang Lutheran Church)
Christian Mission to Buddhists (Daoyou Lutheran Church)
Danish Missionary Society (Dongbei or Northeast Lutheran Church)
Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission (Shaannan Lutheran Church)
Finnish Missionary Society (Xiangxi Lutheran Church)
German Hildesheim Mission to the Blind (Ebenezer Schools and Homes for the Blind in both Hong Kong and Meixiang)

1 *Chungking News Letter*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 1-2.

2 Daniel Nelson, Chungking Report, 1945, p. 1.

3 *Ibid.*; only nine missions were listed there. DMS was added later

Norwegian Lutheran Mission (Yu-e-shaan Lutheran Church)
Norwegian Missionary Society (Xiangzhong Lutheran Church)
Breklum or Schleswig Holstein Mission (Yuenan Lutheran Church)
Tibet Mission (started by two Norwegian medical missionaries in 1937)

Besides providing money, medicine and the daily necessities for the missionaries, the LWC launched and accomplished — with the assistance of the US air force and the Chinese government — a daring programme with far-reaching significance. It was a free-of-charge airlift for hundreds and even thousands of missionaries' family members from China to Calcutta, India, to save them from the threat of war. The Indian government as well as the Lutheran missions and churches in India gave much assistance to this operation.[4]

When the war was over, mission bodies in Norway, such as the NMS and the NLM, gradually became self-supporting and no longer needed assistance from the LWC. Thus, besides continuing to support the mission bodies mentioned above, the LWC was also able to provide relief to other Lutheran-affiliated missions, churches and organizations which had suffered a great deal during the war, such as the Basel Mission, Rhenish Mission, the school for the blind in Shiqi, and the Stuttgart Sisters in Beijing.[5]

After Japan had surrendered in 1945, the LWC China Office was moved from Chongqing to Shanghai. (Shanghai was not a Lutheran mission field, but in 1927, the Rev. Chu Hao-Ran, a Lutheran, had formed a Lutheran congregation there.) In 1947, when the Lutheran World Federation was founded, Dr. D. Nelson

[4] *Chungking News Letter,* Dec. 1944, p. 3.

[5] Daniel Nelson, Report to the Lund Convention, pp. 9-11.

was called to serve as director of the LWF's China branch, whose main task was assisting the Lutheran Church of China in its postwar reconstruction. It provided financial support, materials and leadership training. A project that stirred great interest at the time, in particular among LWF member churches in the USA, was that of building a united Lutheran college. As the civil war became increasingly fierce, this project as well as many others came to nothing.

In 1949, at a time when the door to the gospel was about to be closed in China, the LWF, through one of its American member churches, the Augustana Mission, began providing various kinds of assistance to the Basel Christian Church in Malaysia (BCCM). Besides helping to repair churches and to rebuild schools, the Augustana Mission sent teachers to the BCCM who also served as principals at times. In 1949 alone six teachers were sent there.[6]

Something unique happened during this period — and its importance should not be ignored but be properly recognized — was the purchase of the *St. Paul*. In June 1946, urged by Dr. Nelson, the LWC bought two small, old C-47 airplanes at a US airforce war surplus liquidation sale. They were the *St. Paul* and the *St. Peter*, the latter being used for spare parts only. At the time, traveling in China was almost impossible as most of the roads had been destroyed during the eight-year Sino-Japanese War. Thus, the *St. Paul* became the 'thriftiest, the fastest and the safest' means of travel within the country,[7] bringing missionaries to and from their fields, transporting mission materials, and assisting the Chinese churches' reconstruction in many ways.

[6] Arthur Olson, 'Hakka Lutheran in the Land of Rubber and Coconut,' in *The China News Letter,* vol. 4, no. 3, June 1, 1949, pp. 4-9.

[7] Cf. Minutes of the American Section of the LWC, Chicago, 6 June 1947. These three reasons were given on 'why invest in an airplane?', p.11; US $40,000 were appropriated for the purchase, repair and operating of the plane, p.13.

The *St. Paul* began flying on 4 July 1946, and in its first year alone made over 200 flights, serving not only the Lutheran churches in China but also all 24 Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church. The *St. Paul* transported fifty tons of Bibles and one thousand tons of medical supplies to many parts of the country. In July 1947, the airplane took twenty-four Chinese youth to Oslo, Norway, to attend the World Conference of Christian Youth. That flight alone covered 24,000 miles.[8]

The *St. Paul* was 'retired' in 1950, when private airplanes were no longer allowed to fly in mainland China after the political change. Dr. Nelson, who pioneered the first Asia 'mission airplane', died in a plane crash on 16 July 1948. On that day, Nelson, his wife and his two children were flying back to Hong Kong from Macau on board of the *Miss Macau* when four pirates hijacked the airplane. The ensuing scuffle caused the airplane to plunge into the ocean, killing everyone on board, save one of the pirates. A sepulchre was built for the Nelsons in the New Cemetery in Macau.[9]

After Nelson's death, the Rev. Arthur S. Olson of the Lutheran Free Church, an American pioneer missionary in Yudong Lutheran Church, was appointed LWF China field director. In January 1949, Olson moved his office from the Lutheran Centre in Shanghai to a newly purchased four-story building at 33 Granville Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong. For the next decade and more, this new 'Lutheran Centre' served as headquarters of the LWF office in Hong Kong, and as hostel for missionaries. It also provided office space for local church organizations.[10] The ELCHK office as well as the office and bookstore of the Lutheran Literature Society (LLS), predecessor of Taosheng Publishing House, were all located there.

[8] *China News Letter*, vol. 2, no. 6, Aug-Sept 1947, p. 15; also Gustav Carlberg, *The Changing China Scene*, p. 161.

[9] *China News Letter*, vol. 6, nos. 5-6, 1952, p. 3.

[10] *China News Letter*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan-Feb 1949, p. 3.

B. RELIEF TO REFUGEES IN HONG KONG (1950-1975)

Thousands of White Russians fled to China during the Russian Revolution in 1917. After the liberation in China in 1949, they faced the dilemma of having to choose between returning to the Soviet Union or being deported from China. Most of these Russian refugees did not want to return to their Communist motherland and chose emigration to some Western country.

In spring 1952, the LWF and the WCC jointly set up a service centre in Hong Kong to give urgently needed assistance to these stranded Russians. The person called to administer this big task was the Rev. K L. Stumpf, a German businessman and a former chaplain at the Lutheran Centre in Shanghai. During the first two months of his tenure, more than 6,000 people applied for help. Two years later, 3,264 refugees had succeeded in receiving a visa for Western countries, and 10,789 applications were pending.[11]

When service to these foreign refugees came to an end in 954, the LWF Department for World Service established a Lutheran World Service (LWS) office in Hong Kong. Under the able leadership of the Rev. Stumpf, LWS now began providing relief to the more than one million Chinese refugees in Hong Kong.

At first, the work of LWS was limited to providing money, food and clothes to refugees, but was later expanded to include medical services and housing. Finally it developed into a long-range and comprehensive service programme that even included

[11] For details, cf. the following reports written by L. Stumpf in the *China News Letter:* 'The Destitutes in China', vol. 7, no. 2; March-April 1952, pp. 5-6; 'The Eleventh Hour for Foreign Refugees in China', vol. 7, nos. 3-4; July-Aug. 1952, pp. 10-12; 'Human Misery on Paper', vol. 9, no. 1; July-Aug. 1954, pp. 10-14.

vocational training. According to a 1973 report, LWS provided the following services:[12]

– Three daytime child care centres;
– outpatient care at a medical clinic and three dental clinics;
– vocational training in more than twenty different areas at a centre in Kwun Tong;
– a special training centre for handicapped children;
– a centre for former drug addicts;
– in addition, the LWF also provided general and specialized casework services to deprived families, students, ex-tubercular patients, ex-narcotic addicts, ex-mental patients, the aged, the physically disabled, also school social work and foster care placement. Along with services for:
– Youth guidance;
– community development;
– cottage industry through a crafts department;
– material relief and child feeding;
– rural re-housing;
– social research.

LWS had 275 full-time staff in 1973 and served a total monthly case-load of more than 30,000 people through the programmes mentioned.

In 1976, as Hong Kong became more and more prosperous and its government became increasingly involved in social services, LWS decided to transfer all its work and property to the Hong Kong Christian Council, although its ten-story office building on Granville Road, Kowloon, was not handed over until 1994.

The predecessor of this office building was the four-story 'Lutheran House' mentioned above, which served as LWS office,

[12] LWF-DWS, 'Lutheran World Service and Its Work. A brief report', April 1973.

the ELCHK office and the office and bookstore of the LLS. As its social service programmes were expanding very rapidly, LWS decided to replace the old building with a new, ten-story building located in the same place, with funding mainly coming from the German churches. Since the building was to be used for social services, the government exempted LWS from paying property tax.

In order to accommodate the two organizations which had been sharing Lutheran House, the LWF allocated funds to build a four-story building — now called Lutheran Building — at 50A Waterloo Road, Kowloon. Two of the four stories were used by the ELCHK as headquarters, and the other two by Taosheng Publishing House as offices and bookstore. The building was opened on 1 May 1967 and dedicated on 17 May. In 1976, in order to meet increasing needs, the ELCHK at its own expense added two more stories to the building.[13]

The contributions of LWS in twenty-two years of service in Hong Kong were not confined to catering to physical needs, but also to spiritual ones. Many people had their first contact with the church and came to know Jesus through what they saw and experienced through the work of LWS. And it was partially through the example and inspiration given by LWS that the Hong Kong Lutheran churches became themselves interested in social services. Before the middle of the 1970s, few Lutheran churches had social programmes. But in the past twenty years Lutheran churches in Hong Kong have been very active in various kinds of social service projects. By 1994, the Hong Kong Lutheran churches were operating a total of 87 social service agencies.[14] In 1996, the number increased to 102.[15]

[13] Cf. ELCHK 13th Assembly Minutes, 1967, p. 36 (in Chinese); ELCHK 23rd Assembly Minutes, 1977, 'President's Report' (in Chinese).

[14] Cf. *1995 Chinese Churches Directory,* Taosheng Publishing House (in Chinese).

[15] Cf. Appendix II in this book.

C. SUPPORTING LEADERSHIP TRAINING OUTSIDE MAINLAND CHINA (1975-)

In 1975, by request of the Asian churches, the LWF launched the Asia Programme for Advanced Studies, or APAS, which later became Asia Programme for the Advancement of Training and Studies, or APATS. The main purpose of APATS was to assist the Asian churches in developing indigenous leadership training, including the training of both clergy and lay people.

APATS programmes have been carried out simultaneously in eight geographical areas, a Lutheran seminary in a given area usually serving as coordinator. With partial financial support from the LWF, churches in each area were enabled to develop their own study and training programmes. In the beginning, Hong Kong and Taiwan were one area, and Malaysia and Singapore another. The churches in these four places being mainly Chinese, the activities in both areas were initially coordinated by the author, the then president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong. In 1989, as the Chinese Lutheran Theological Seminary in Taiwan began to expand, the Hong Kong-Taiwan area was divided into Hong Kong area and Taiwan area.

Besides encouraging and supporting them to develop their own small training and study programmes, APATS has also greatly contributed to bring the churches together. On 4–9 August 1975, more than one hundred Chinese Lutheran leaders from Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore attended the Second Southeast Asia Chinese Lutheran Coworkers Seminar in Kowloon. It was the first time in history that so many Chinese Lutheran leaders from different countries and regions had the opportunity to study together.[16]

But the first opportunity for the Chinese Lutheran leaders to work together came in 1968. It was then that, under the leadership of Dr. Herbert Schaefer, LWF Christian Education secretary, the Lutheran Southeast Asia Christian Education Committee

[16] Cf. APATS Committee 1975 Report.

(LSEACEC) was established in Hong Kong, with Rev. Arthur Wu as director. The main purpose of the LSEACEC was to develop Chinese religious education curriculum materials. Although curriculum materials were very much needed at that time, that ambitious and comprehensive curriculum development project unfortunately did not fulfill all its goals due to the lack of competent personnel to design, write, edit and distribute materials. The project was therefore terminated in 1985.

In order to encourage the Chinese Lutheran churches to move toward self-support, the LWF provided stewardship consultative services for churches in Southeast Asia. The Rev. Victor Tsu of Hong Kong was called to serve as stewardship consultant in 1974. He conducted various stewardship education activities in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. He was succeeded in 1980 by the Rev. Daniel Cheung of Malaysia.

In 1979, the churches in mainland China were beginning to reopen. And to promote relations between the churches outside China with those within, the LWF established the Lutheran Churches' China Coordinating Office (LCCCO) in Hong Kong, directed by the Rev. Arthur Wu. The LCCCO closed in 1983, when the doors of China began opening wider and wider and special coordination was no longer needed.

As the date for Hong Kong's return to China was set, and as the need for many more well-trained leaders in the Chinese churches became apparent, the LWF began to give energetic support to the various Chinese Lutheran seminaries. In 1985, the LWF responded to the urgent appeal of Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong for its relocation project. In the following eight years the LWF raised a total of HK$28,000,000, almost 40 per cent of the HK$73,000,000 needed for the project. Similarly, in the 1990s, the LWF supported the building projects of Sabah Theological Seminary in Malaysia and of the Chinese Lutheran Theological Seminary in Taiwan.

What the LWF has done for the Chinese Lutheran churches over the years through APATS, religious education curriculum

development, stewardship consultative services, the China Coordinating Office, and specially by supporting theological education, will have tremendous influence on the future development of the Chinese Lutheran churches.

The history from 'aid for the orphaned missions' in China, to 'relief to refugees' in Hong Kong, and to 'support for leadership training outside mainland China' not only reflects the nearly sixty years of close relationship between the LWF and the Chinese Lutheran churches, but is also a record of the various experiences the Chinese Lutheran churches have had in the past. These churches witnessed the tragedies of war, suffered from the hardship of being refugees, and yet they were able to move toward stability and growth. Today, nobody would deny the important role the Chinese Lutheran churches play in the various Chinese communities.

But the achievement of the Chinese Lutheran churches today is largely linked to the role the LWF has played in their development, the assistance it has provided, and the inspiration it has given.

II. THE CHINESE LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN THE LWF

As the Chinese Lutheran churches are small, the roles they have played in the LWF, a big international body, are small as well. Yet, the Chinese Lutheran churches never underestimated the privilege and responsibility of belonging to this world family. They respect the LWF and feel proud of it, they always try their best to take part in its activities and to serve it in whatever way they can. In other words, they do not just want to be at the receiving end, but want to participate fully and give something in return.

A. ATTENDING LWF ASSEMBLIES

The Chinese Lutheran churches have attended all assemblies, although the level of their involvement varied each time.

The Lutheran Church of China was one of the chartered members of the LWF at its foundation and First Assembly in Lund on 30 June – 6 July 1947. The LCC was represented by Dr. Peng Fu, its president, and by Mr. Chen Kai-Yuan, principal of Lutheran Middle School, Hunan. On behalf of the LCC, Dr. Peng signed the LWF Constitution, brought greetings to the First Assembly, and presented a big Hunan embroidery as a gift to the LWF.[17]

Dr. D. Nelson, who had accompanied Dr. Peng to Lund, wrote a report in English for *China News Letter* about the assembly,[18] and the author, the then editor of *Lutheran Youth,* published an interview with Mr. Chen Kai Yuan who related his impressions of that big event.[19] It was the first time that the churches in China got to hear about this new Lutheran world organization.

The Second Assembly in Hanover, 25 July - 3 August 1952, was the only assembly where no Chinese delegates were present. As China had just been taken over by the Communists, no Chinese delegates could be sent from China. The LCC asked Dr. Gustav Carlberg, who was on his way back to the USA after retiring as president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong, to represent it at the assembly. On behalf of the LCC, Dr. Carlberg presented a paper on the situation of the church in China.[20]

Although the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong was the only Chinese member church of the LWF when the Third Assembly was held in Minneapolis, 15-25 August 1957, four young Chinese church leaders representing three Chinese churches were present. Besides the Rev. Tennysen Liu, the official delegate of the ELCHK, there were two observers, the Rev.

17 *China News Letter,* vol. 2, no. 6, Aug-Sept 1947, p. 1.

18 *Ibid.*.

19 It was the first issue of that paper published by the Youth Committee of the Lutheran Church of China in Taohualun, Hunan. The Rev. Tangeraas was chairman of that committee.

20 *China News Letter,* vol. 7, no. 2, 1952, pp. 6-7.

Stanley Tung of Taiwan Lutheran Church, and the Rev. Stephen Han of Malaya Lutheran Church. In addition, the author, then a co-worker in the ELCHK and graduate student in New York, was permitted to attend the assembly as interpreter for Rev. Han.

Two Chinese Lutheran churches sent official delegates to the Fourth Assembly in Helsinki, 30 July - 11 August 1963. The ELCHK sent President Wu Ming-Chieh (delegate), Mrs. Anna Wang Hsiao (woman delegate) and Rev. Paul Liu (youth delegate). TLC was represented by President Dr. Chin Chun-An.

In order to involve as many Chinese churches as possible in the discussion on 'Justification by Faith', one of the main documents of the assembly, the Lutheran Literature Society in Hong Kong published a Chinese version of that important document.

The Fifth Assembly, held in Evian 14-24 July 1970, was attended by three representatives from the ELCHK, namely Dr. Wu Ming-Chieh (delegate), the author (advisor) and Mr. Che Wei-Kun (youth delegate), and four from TLC, namely, the Rev. Stanley Tung (delegate), Dr. Martin Yang (advisor), Miss Sophia Huang (youth) and Ms. Wang Wu Hui-Ya (woman delegate).

The Evian assembly had historical significance for the Chinese Lutheran churches, as it was the first time that the Chinese representatives had the opportunity to express themselves in the Resolutions Committee as well as in plenary.[21] The author was later elected to the Commission on Church Cooperation, the first Chinese to be elected to a decision-making body of the LWF.

[21] Two Chinese had the opportunity to voice their concerns in the assembly. In the first plenary, on the evening of 14 July, the author expressed his disappointment at the change of assembly venue from Porto Alegre to Evian. Sophia Huang was a member of the Resolutions Committee, and through it the Chinese delegation sent an official protest about the wording of one of the proposed motions on the admission of China to the UN. The plenary finally approved the revised motion.

The Sixth Assembly in Dar es Salaam, 13-23 June 1977, will long be remembered by the Chinese Lutheran churches as well as by many Asian churches. The Chinese delegation included representatives of four churches in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore. They were: the Rev. Paul Hu (delegate), Ms. Rita Ho (woman delegate), Arthur Wu (advisor) and the author (ex officio) of ELCHK, the Rev. Stephen Tsui of CRC, Mr. Zhou Zai-En of TTM and Bishop Peter Foong of the LCMS. The Taiwan Lutheran Church delegate, President Peter Chou, however, was barred from entering Tanzania to attend the assembly. The Tanzanian government refused to grant visas to him and to President Won San Ji of South Korea Lutheran Church on the grounds that Taiwan and South Korea were anti-Communist countries.

The Chinese delegation, strongly supported by all Asian delegates, lodged a strong protest against both the Tanzanian government and the LWF administration. Their appeal for justice aroused sympathy from all delegates and gave rise to deep concern. As a result, the extraordinary plenary of 17 June passed two resolutions.[22] The first reaffirmed the principle that the LWF would not meet in a country which did not accept to issue visas to all LWF delegates. The second was a request that the newly

[22] An extraordinary plenary session was called on the evening of 17 June 1977. The Policy and Reference Committee presented four recommendations to the plenary in consultation with the Chinese delegates: The main ideas were the following: 1.We express deep regret to the Revds Peter Chou and Won San Ji for not being able to attend the Assembly due to visa problems. 2. We request that our new president and general secretary visit our member churches in Taiwan and Korea as soon as possible. 3. We reaffirm our principle that we will only conduct meetings in countries that allow our delegates to attend. 4. We continue to request that the Tanzanian government grant visas to Chou and Ji. The resolutions were carried by an overwhelming majority of 190, with five oppose and 15 abstain.

elected LWF president should visit the member churches in Taiwan and South Korea as soon as possible to heal the wounds that this had caused.

At the beginning of 1978, Bishop Josiah Kibira, the new LWF president, and Dr. Carl Mau, the LWF general secretary, visited Taiwan and South Korea. They were warmly received by the member churches there.

It was at the Sixth Assembly that the author was elected one of the three vice-presidents, the first Chinese to hold that important position. This election was especially meaningful to the Chinese churches, for at the First Assembly, thirty years before, a Chinese vice-president had been considered, but this did not work out, mainly because there was no qualified candidate in the LCC at that time.[23]

Two Chinese from TLC were later elected to two commissions: the Rev. Yin Ying to the Commission on Communications, and Mrs. Sophia Tung to the Commission on Studies.

No less than fourteen Chinese, namely eight from Hong Kong, two from Taiwan and four from Malaysia and Singapore, attended the Seventh Assembly in Budapest, 22 July - 5 August 1984. It was the first time that all four member churches in Hong Kong were represented at an assembly. They were President John Tse (delegate), Dr. Lam Man-Ping (woman delegate), and the author (ex officio) of ELCHK, the Rev. Chu Chang-ming (delegate) and Miss Lei Hui-Ling (youth delegate) of Lutheran Church-Hong Kong Synod, the Rev. Stephen Tsui (delegate) of CRC, President Daniel Chou (delegate) and Dr. Yu Wai-Hong (advisor) of TTM. TLC was represented by Mrs. Sophia Tung and the Rev.

[23] According to an interview the author had with Mr. Chen Kai-Yuan in July 1947. Mr. Chen was one of the two Chinese delegates at the First Assembly.

Yin Ying, both ex officio. The four from Malaysia and Singapore were: Bishop Peter Foong (delegate) of the LCMS, and Bishop Thu En-Yu (delegate), the Rev. Pang Ken-Phin (woman delegate) and Mr. Wong Tet-Yun (youth delegate) of the BCCM.

Several Chinese had the opportunity to speak at the assembly; Dr. Choong Chee Pang served as a Bible Study leader while the author preached in the closing service.

Three Chinese church leaders were elected to three commissions: Dr. Choong Chee Pang of the LCMS to the Commission on Church Cooperation, Mrs. Sophia Tung of TLC to the Commission on Studies, and the author, of ELCHK, to the Commission on World Service.

The Eighth Assembly, held in Curitiba, 30 January - 8 Febuary 990, was attended by 15 Chinese representatives, namely four rom Hong Kong (President John Tse, the Rev. Josephine Tso, President Sit Poon-Kit and President Lee Ge-Keen), four from Taiwan (President Stanley Tung, Mrs. Sophia Tung, President Kao Ying-Mao and one youth delegate), and seven from Malaysia and Singapore (Bishop Daniel Cheung, Bishop Thu En-Yu and five others).

Two Chinese leaders, namely Mrs. Sophia Tung of TLC and Bishop Daniel Cheung of the LCMS, were elected to the Council, a new decision-making body created under the new structure of the LWF. Mrs Sophia Tung was elected one of six vice-presidents.

The memory of the Ninth Assembly, held in Hong Kong in 1997, will always be treasured by the Chinese churches, for the member churches in Hong Kong had hosted it. It deserves to be introduced in greater detail in one of the following sections .

B. PARTICIPATING IN LWF ACTIVITIES

Not only did the Chinese Lutheran churches attend all LWF assemblies, they also participated in many of its activities,

programmes, seminars, consultations, conferences, and so on. This participation particularly increased in the 1970s when more Chinese churches became members of the LWF and more Chinese leaders became equipped academically and linguistically for international activities. It is fair to say that the Chinese Lutheran churches rarely turned down invitations from the LWF to take part in international gatherings, although this may have caused them inconvenience, brought on pressures and financial burdens.

One of the LWF-sponsored projects in which the Chinese Lutheran churches are most enthusiastically involved is the Asia Programme for the Advancement of Training and Study, or APATS. So as to prepare the churches and church leaders for this programme, the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Hong Kong sponsored a number of meetings in Hong Kong and Taiwan in 1972-1975. Since 1975, when APATS took off the ground, hundreds of training and study programmes for pastors, lay leaders, youth leaders and women leaders have been conducted by the Chinese Lutheran churches under the umbrella of APATS.

An additional contribution of APATS in the past was to provide opportunities for Chinese Lutheran leaders to get together, not only for study but also for fellowship and exchange of ideas. It was in one of the APATS seminars that the leaders of the six small Lutheran churches in Taiwan talked about the possibility of cooperation and unity among the Lutheran churches there. As a result, the Chinese Lutheran Churches Association in Taiwan was founded in 1979.

C. SERVING THE LWF IN VARIOUS CAPACITIES

After the Evian assembly, Chinese Lutheran churches served the LWF in various capacities. Besides two vice-presidents, a number of Chinese leaders were members of the Executive Committee and of the Council and served in various commissions.

Since Hong Kong is so close to mainland China, the Lutheran churches in Hong Kong have been able to play a positive role in almost all the LWF China programmes. Contributions from the

Lutheran churches can be found in Radio Voice of the Gospel (RVOG) in the early 1970s, in the study on China's 'New Man' in the late 1970s, in the Lutheran Churches' China Coordinating Office in the 1980s, and in the new China Study Programme since the early 1990s. It would not be an overstatement to say that without the close cooperation and support of the Chinese Lutheran churches, the LWF's China programmes would not have achieved as much as they have.

D. SHARING IN THE LWF BUDGET

Mainly because of the small size of its churches and the low income of most church members, the Chinese Lutheran churches have financially contributed very little to the LWF. Most of the Chinese Lutheran churches in Hong Kong are 'refugee churches' as they have been working mainly among those who fled from mainland China to Hong Kong shortly before or after 1950. The average income of their members is much lower than that of members of the older churches.

But to show their support of the LWF world family, all Chinese Lutheran churches, no matter how small, have been faithfully paying their membership fees. As a matter of fact, the Lutheran Church of China was one of the very few third-world churches that in 1947 shared the first budget of the LWF. Half of the US$20,000 of the LWF 1947-1948 budget was shouldered by the churches in the USA, and the rest was contributed by all other churches. The LCC, one of the poorest churches, accepted the challenge of covering US$200.[24]

The Chinese Lutheran churches were always willing and able to contribute more to the budget as their financial capacity was

[24] E. Clifford Nelson, *The Rise of World Lutheranism–An American Perspective*, p. 394.

increasing. In the early 1980s, for example, when the CRC's financial situation was sound, it responded to the LWF's Statement of Needs without hesitation and according to its means.

E. HOSTING THE LWF ASSEMBLY

When the Eighth Assembly in Curitiba in 1990 was over, people started to ask, Where should the Ninth Assembly be held? In Asia, was the reply in every case, for no LWF Assembly had ever been held on that continent.

But which Asian church or churches would be willing and able to host such a big meeting? With regard to facilities and means of communication, the churches in Japan and Hong Kong seemed to be the most suitable.

On 30 April 1992, the Executive Committee of the Hong Kong Lutheran Federation met and discussed the possibility of hosting the assembly. After a lengthy debate, a positive decision was reached but only in principle. The final decision would be made later, pending a report from an ad hoc committee.[25]

On 25 August 1992, when the Executive Committee met again and heard the ad hoc committee's report, it decided unanimously that an invitation be sent to the LWF to hold its Ninth Assembly in Hong Kong in 1997.

There were several reasons why the four small member churches (including HKMLC, a member of HKLF, but not a LWF member until 1994), whose combined members were less than 33,000 at that time, had the courage to assume such a heavy responsibility:

[25] On 30 April 1992, Mr. Sit Poon-Ki, the Rev. Josephine Tso, Mr. Lee Ge-Keen and the author were appointed to form an ad hoc committee.

– Hong Kong was to be handed over to China on 1 July 1997. An international meeting such as the LWF Assembly right after the hand-over would be seen as an expression of solidarity with and an encouragement for the churches in Hong Kong.

– Hong Kong had all the facilities for an international conference such as the LWF Assembly. The communication system in Hong Kong was one of the best in the world.

– Although the Lutheran churches in Hong Kong were very small, they had the many 'talents' necessary for handling a conference of this size.

– Support and encouragement from many prominent Lutheran leaders, such as Drs. Staalsett (LWF general secretary) and Mau (former LWF general secretary), and Indian church leader Dr. K. Rajaratnam, who all visited Hong Kong (in March, May and November, 1992, respectively).

– The invitation would mean a proper recognition of what the LWF had done for the Chinese Lutheran churches both in and outside China since the 1940s.

– They remembered the Lutheran Church of China's intention in 1946, one year before the LWF came into being. At its Seventh Assembly in 1946, the LCC had discussed the possibility of inviting the LWF to hold its Second Assembly in China in 1952. Although this was approved in principle, it was not carried out, mainly because the Eighth Assembly which was to give the final approval and which was to be held in 1949 never took place due to the rapid political change in China at that time.[26] Thus the churches in Hong Kong regarded it as very meaningful to invite the LWF to hold the 1997 assembly on Chinese soil, in Hong Kong.

[26] Cf. 'LCC 7th Assembly Minutes' as well as minutes of the 23rd and 24th Council meetings (in Chinese).

The Hong Kong churches' only concern or fear was about the political change in Hong Kong. Would the Hong Kong government allow such an international church meeting in Hong Kong right after the political transition?

Their concern was not unfounded. On 26 February 1996, one of the newspapers in Hong Kong carried a story saying that the New China News Agency (NCNA; the official representative of the Chinese government in Hong Kong) objected to the LWF Assembly convening in Hong Kong on 8-16 July 1997. Two reasons were given by the NCNA: firstly, although the LWF had presented the request for this meeting to the Hong Kong government, the latter had never discussed the matter with China, nor had it ever brought it to the China-Britain Liaison Group for study; secondly, the date of the assembly was too close to the transition on 1 July and would therefore cause inconvenience.

This news gave rise to deep concern not only in the Lutheran churches but in the Hong Kong community as a whole. Over the next few days, the media — radio, TV and the newspapers (except a few pro-Communist ones) — spoke out against the NCNA and its unreasonable interference. The pressure of public opinion was effective. On 2 March, one day before LWF General Secretary Dr. Ishmael Noko went to Beijing for further discussions with the authorities, Mr. Zhang Jun-Sheng, the NCNA deputy director, told the Rev. Josephine Tso, chairperson of the HKLF, and Dr. Lam Tak-Ho, chairman of the Local Preparations Committee, that there was no need to apply for such a meeting, and that the LWF could go ahead with the assembly as planned.

On 5 March, when Dr. Noko met the press in Hong Kong, he revealed that the real problem was that the Chinese government could not grant entry permits to church delegates from the Republic of China (Taiwan). This problem was easily solved as all Taiwan delegates had already agreed to come as representatives of the Lutheran churches in Taiwan rather than of ROC.

The Local Preparations Committee worked hard under the leadership of Dr. Lam, its chairman and president of LTS, and of Mr. Lee Ge-Keen, the coordinator. Although this experience was totally new for all involved, they were able to solve most problems and handle thousands of details.

In order to meet costs before or during the Assembly, each member church in Hong Kong pledged to allocate a certain amount of money every year between 1993-1997.

Of the 1,048 participants, 138 came from the Chinese churches in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore or their related organizations. There were a total of 18 delegates (two from each of the nine member churches), two ex officio, two official visitors and one advisor. Besides, there were 11 accredited journalists (including expatriates), eight guests (including non-Lutherans), 31 visitors (including missionaries) and one accompanying person. Most of the other participants were those 'silent heroes' who worked hard behind the scenes to make the assembly run as smoothly as possible. Among them were three coopted staff, 20 local staff, four stewards, and 37 local and international volunteers.

More Chinese had the opportunity to address the plenary in this assembly than in any previous one. Dr. Choong Chee Pang delivered the keynote address, President Josephine Tso preached at the opening worship, and the author, as an 'elder' in the Jubilee Celebration, shared some of his memories of previous assemblies. Dr. Nicholas Tai served as one of the Bible Study leaders. Another Chinese church leader who played an important role in the assembly was Ms. Mabel Wu, assistant professor of Sacred Music at LTS. Together with her associates, Dr. Loh I-To, Dr. Lo Wing-Kwong, and others, she planned most of the worship programmes, designed most of the liturgies and conducted the 400-member choir.

Something unique and long-remembered happened at this assembly: contrary to LWF 'tradition', neither the host churches in Hong Kong, nor any of the other Chinese churches presented

a nomination for the LWF presidency, not wishing a fight to break out, something that had happened at most if not all previous assemblies. This was not taken as an expression of Confucian modesty on the part of the Chinese leaders nor to mean that the Chinese churches lacked good candidates, but rather it was interpreted as a protest against a bad tradition that had prevailed in past LWF assemblies. Many participants hoped that a good example for future assemblies might be set, i.e., that the LWF president did not have to come from the host church.

So as to make this assembly possible and make the theme 'In Christ — Called to Witness' a reality, the churches in Hong Kong mobilized several hundred of their people, including clergy and lay, men and women, old and young. Although most of their names did not appear on the participants list, they served the assembly faithfully in whatever capacity they were needed. Some of them preached or led a Bible study, others served as liturgists, musicians, singers and conductors; and still others served as interpreters, stewards, ushers, tour-guides, and so on. They will long remember their involvement in the Ninth Assembly as one of the most inspiring and rewarding experiences of their lives.

In 1948, at the 27th meeting of the Lutheran Church Council, 4-5 November at Taofongshan, Hong Kong — the last such meeting of the Lutheran Church of China — Dr. Peng Fu, the chairman, said in one of the sessions: 'We Lutherans have three things no other missions or churches in China possess. First, the China director and the China headquarters of a worldwide organization, the Lutheran World Federation. Second, the Lutheran Mission airplane, the *St. Paul*, which has been a Godsend in the present emergency, not only for Lutherans but for missionaries and Christians of all communions. Third, Christian Mission to Buddhists, which is another unique feature of missionary work.'[27] Two of the three unique things mentioned related directly to the LWF. We can say but 'Amen' to President Peng's words: 'For these and other blessings we truly praise the Lord.'

[27] 'Minutes of the 27th Meeting of the Lutheran Church Council', held at Taofongshan, Shatin, Hong Kong, November 4-5, 1949, p. 48.

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APPENDIX I SYNODS AND MISSIONS OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF CHINA

SYNODS	MISSIONS	YR EST'T	IN CHINA	WORK AREA	JOIN LCC	MS-PERS	CHINESE	CONG'S	MEMBERS
Chongzhen	Basel Mission	1815	1847	Guangdong, HK	1949	36	175	157	20,000
Lixiang	Baman Mission	1828	1847	Guangdong, HK	1949	8	40	20	3,350
Yuegang	Berlin Mission	1824	1850\1882	Gd, Jiangxi	1928	7	34	56	4,410
Yu-e	United Lutheran Mission	1890	1890	Henan, Hubei	1920	15	125	213	15,570
Yu-eshaan	Norwegian Lutheran Mission	1891	1891	Hn, Hb,Shaanxi	1946	9	37	18	4,676
Dongbei	Danish Missionary Society	1821	1896	Manchuria	1928	21	52	125	25,000est't
Ludong	American Lutheran Mission	1824	1898\1925	Shangdong	1928	17	65	124	4,216
Xiangxi	Finnish Missionary Society	1859	1902	Western Hunan	1920	8	23	28	2,464
Xiangzhong	Norwegian Missionary Society	1842	1902	Central Hunan	1920	17	44	146	9,681
Yuxi	American Luth Brethren Mission	1859	1902	Western Henan	1949	(Unable to attend assembly)			
Yuzhong	Augustana Synod Mission	1878	1905	Central Henan	1920	10	116	90	10,849
Shaannan	Nor Ev Luth Free Church Mission	1877	1921	South Shaani	1946	3	6	4	360 adults
Yudong	Lutheran Board of Missions	1899	1916	Eastern Henan	1924	11	36	57	3,466
Xiangbei	Church of Sweden Mission	1874	1918	Northern Hunan	1920	2	16	17	492
Yuenan	Schleswig-Holstein Mission	1876	1920	Southern Guangdong	1924	4	7	4	345
Daoyao	Christian Mission to Buddhists	1922	1922	Nanjing, HK…	1949	5		4	c200

Remarks: 1.Figures for Chongzhen, Lixiang, Yuxi and Daoyou based on 27th Council Meeting Minutes,1949; all others came from 1946 Sixth Assembly Statistics.

2.Chongzhen Synod membership based on her 150 Anniversary Bulletin

3.Both Yuegang and Ludong give two dates under "In China" indicating the years of arrival in China of their two founding missions.

APPENDIX II LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN HONG KONG

CHURCH	MISSION	YEAR BEGAN	CONG'S	MEM-BERS	SCHOOLS					SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES					
					KDGT	PRMRY	SEC	SPE-CIAL	TO-TAL	CHILD-REN	YOUTH	ELD-ERS	COM' NITY	SPE-CIAL	TOTAL
TTM	Basel	1847 (1952)	18	7,000	4	5	4		13	6	1	2			9
CRC	Rhenish	1847 (1951)	16	12,619	2	1	1		4	7		4		1	12
ELCHK	ELCA; NMS; NLM, CSM	1949	57	12,800	12	10	3		25	5	10	4	9	6	34
HKMLC	NLM	1949 (1969)	13	2,487	4	3	1		8	1		4		1	6
LCHKS	Missouri	1949	38	8,100	16	8	10	1	35	6	8	13	11	3	41
SALEM	Wisconsin	1950 (1977)	9	500	1		1		2						
SGLC	Breklum	1962 (1975)	5	300						4*					4
TOTAL			156	43,536	39	27	20	1	87	29	19	27	20	17	106

REMARS: 1. Years in bracket indicates the year of a new beginning or independence of the church. 2. Membership based on statistics in LWInformation, Jan. 1997; other figures based on *Lutheran Directory* published by Taosheng Publishing House, 1997. 3. Special school refers for the school of the mute and deaf. *According to the Rev. Leung's report.

APPENDIX III: LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN TAIWAN

NAME OF CHURCH	FOUNDING MISSIONS	YEAR BEGAN (INDEPENDENTLY)	YEAR CHURCH EST'D	YEAR OF SELF-SUPPORT	CONG'S	MEM-BERSHIP	ORGANIZATIONS
Taiwan Lutheran Church	ELC ASM LBM ALBM NLM NMS DMS	1950	1954	?	45	5,473	3 student centres; 2 hospitals; nursery; mission centre; The Lutheran Voice; Publishing house; labors Gospel centre
Lutheran Church of ROC	NLM	1952 (1956)	1968	1985	15	1,200	The Voice of Salvation
Chinese Lutheran Brethren Church	ALBM	1951 (1956)	1958	1985	15	2,300	?
Chinese Evangelical Lutheran Ch	LC-MISSIOURI SYNOD MISSION	1951	1966 ?	1993	27	2,621	theology study centre; high school; correspondence course
China Gospel Lutheran Church	NOR EV LUTH FREE CH MISSION	1954 (1961)	?	?	9	225	social concern centre; gospel centre; 2 nurseries; school for the deaf
Lutheran Church of Taiwan	FMS	1956 (1974)	1977	?	23	1,589	radio centre; drug abusers centre; hospital
TOTAL					134	13,408	

Remarks: 1. Some churches worked jointly with TLC or other missions at the beginning, but became independent later. 2. Congregations and organizations based on 1997 Lutheran Directory. 3. Membership came from *LWInformation*, January 1997 issue. 4. ? indicate information not available.